

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।



BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.



सर्वस्य द्वे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वस्येति च द्वे इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उक्तं बह्वक्षयः प्राक् पदस्येत्यतः सर्वस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From here upto VIII. 1. 15 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

This is an adhiKāra sūtra. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4. teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'." Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense. i. e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as पचति पचति 'he always cooks'. Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'.

The sūtra 'sarvasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form *sarva* is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्वं वदति, (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वाङ्गीनोभिष्टुः = सर्वप्रकारमन्नं भक्षयति; (3) the totality of *members* (अवयवः), as सर्वः पदोदग्धः ॥ In the present sūtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in *sarvasya*, is that of *sthāna*, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sūtra is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the sūtra however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not ādesā, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word sarvasya is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise, one may double only the last *letter* of a word by the rule of अलोऽन्तस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samāsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टापदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vīpsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपरिकां वशाति, here also the sense is that of vīpsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in घाने घाने पानीयम् the sentence घाने पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16.

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves पर्वाणि पर्वाणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्य'; so that the sense of vīpsā is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the *force* of vīpsā is there denoted by the taddhita *affix* itself, and so doubling is not *necessary*. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vīpsā can take place with regard to a *word*, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति; for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms श्लोधा and श्लोवा ॥ Here लृच् is added to the root श्लुच्, and ह् is optionally changed to च by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is ङ ॥ As च and ङ are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this च or ङ substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as श्लोधा श्लोधा) then optional च or ङ change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like श्लोधा श्लोवा, श्लोवा श्लोधा in doubling. While the correct forms are श्लोवा श्लोवा, or श्लोधा श्लोधा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पूर्वपचतिद्विचने (See VIII. 2. 3 last vārtika).

Or the word सर्वे may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अर्शो आद्यच्, meaning सर्वे कार्ये यस्मिन्नस्ति तदिदं सर्वं, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

तस्य परमाच्चेडितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम्, आच्चेडितम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य द्विरुक्तस्य यत्परं चात्पररूपं तदाच्चेडितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

2. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called *āmreḍita* (repeated).

Thus in चौर चौर ३, वृषल वृषल ३ इत्यो ३ घातयिष्यामि स्वा, बन्धायिष्यामि स्वा, the second word being *āmreḍita* is *pluta*. The word *आच्चेडित* occurs in *Sūtras* VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The तस्य here denotes *avayava-shashṭhi*: and the word परः denotes the *avayava*. In fact, this *sūtra* indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (*avayava*) is denoted. So that the sentences like पूर्वं कायस्य become valid.

In the above examples, the word has become *pluta* by VIII. 2. 95.

अनुदात्तं च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तं च तद्वदति यदाच्चेडितसंज्ञम् ॥

3. That which is called *āmreḍita* is gravely accented.

Thus भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते ; पशून् पशून् ॥

That is, all the vowels of the *āmreḍita* become *anudatta* or accentless. In the above examples, the root भृञ् becomes *ātmanepadi* by I. 3. 66: the Personal endings are *anudatta* by VI. 1. 186; the *vikaraṇa* णन् gets the acute by III. 1. 3; the ष् of this णे is elided by VI. 4. 111, and thus भृङ्क्ते becomes finally acute by *udatta-nivṛtti-svara* (VI. 1. 161). The *āmreḍita* *bhuṅkte* becomes wholly *anudatta*. The word पशु is formed by the affix क् and is finally acute.

नित्यवीप्सयोः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्य, वीप्सयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नित्ये चार्ये वीप्सायां च यद्वर्त्तते तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥

4. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by *kṛit* affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22). Thus पचति पचति 'he cooks continually'. जल्पति जल्पति 'he talks incessantly'. मुक्त्वा मुक्त्वा व्रजति or

भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away.' See III. 4. 22. लुनीहि लुनीहिल्लेवायं लुनाति (See III. 4. 2). The affixes ktvā and ṇamul formed words and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix बह् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते ॥ And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of nitya, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable kṛit words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोजं ॥ Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite verbs (तिङ्) express nitya, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express vīpsā or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word vīpsā? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (vyāptum ichchā) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker, with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is vīpsā. Thus ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः पुरुषः पुरुषो निधनश्रुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of nityatā; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to vīpsā, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as भाव्यतरभाव्यतरमानम् ॥

परैर्वर्जने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, वर्जने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीत्येतस्य वर्जनेर्ये द्वे भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परैर्वर्जनेऽसमासे वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

5. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि विगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि सौवीरैश्च, परि परि सर्वसनेभ्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe भ्रोदनं परिषिञ्चति ॥

Vart:—Optionally परि, meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound, as परि परि विगर्तेभ्यः or परि विगर्तेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिविगर्ते वृष्टो देवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes here the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 88), and governs the fifth case by II. 3. 11. In परिषिञ्चति the word is an upasarga.

प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र, सम्, उप, उद्ः, पाद पूरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सम् उप उद् इत्येतेषां पादपूरणे द्वे भवतो द्विवचनेन चेत्यादः पूर्वत ॥

6. प्र, सम्, उा and उत् are repeated, when by so doubling, the foot of a verse is completed.

As प्र प्रायमाग्निभरतस्य शृण्वे (Rig VII. 8.4), संसनिद्युवडे वृषन् ॥ (Rig X .191. 1), उवोप मे परावृषा (Rig I. 126. 7), किं नोदुदु हर्षसे दातवाड (Rig IV. 21. 9). Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by'? Observe प्रदेवे देव्या धिया ॥ This rule applies only to the Vedic verses, for there alone the Preposition may be used separate from its verb. In the secular literature, this rule has no applicability, as Prepositions are never so used.

उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि, अधि, अधसः, सामीप्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपरि अधि अधम् इत्येतेषां द्वे भवतः सामीप्ये विवक्षिते ॥

7. उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when it expresses uninterrupted nearness.

The word sāmipya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि दुःखम्, or उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्, अध्यधि ग्रामम्, अधोधो नगरम् ॥ Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमाः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि शिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्व एव हरिर्गति ।
अधोधो हर्षने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vipsā.-

वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्यासूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्य-
आदेः, आमन्त्रितस्य, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सन, भर्त्सनेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्य द्वे भवतः असूया संमति क्रोप कुत्सन भर्त्सनइत्ये-
तेषु यदि तद्वाक्यं भवति ॥

8. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vākya. Thus (1) envy :—माणवकां ३ माणवक औभिरूपकां ३ अभिरूपक रिक्तं ते आभिरूप्यम् ॥ (2) praise — माणवकां ३ माणवक औभिरूपकां ३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ (3) anger :— माणवकां ३ माणवक औविनीतकां ३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि ज्ञास्व ॥ (4) blame :— शक्तिके ३ शक्तिके यटिके ३ यटिके रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥ (5) Threat—धौर धौरा ३ वृषल वृषला ३ घातविष्यामि स्वा, बन्धविष्यामि स्वा ॥ The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the āmreḍita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभन खल्वसि माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदारोदैवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'. Observe देवदत्त नामाभाज शुक्लाम् ॥

In some books, the vākya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्यं) ॥ In the first example, कन् is added.

एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, वत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एक मित्येतच्छब्दरूपं द्विरुक्तं बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वति ॥

9. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member a of Bahuvrihi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrihi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकैकमक्षरं पठति (not एकमेकम्), एकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (not एक्येकया). The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and masculinising by VI. 3. 34. This double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrihi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrihi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a Pronoun, as एकैकस्मै ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is really a Bahuvrihi, and not to a word-form which is treated like a Bahuvrihi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrihi in that sūtra, though its anuvritti was understood from the preceding one; indicates this. (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus न न करोति, सुसुआगर्ति ॥ This double-word is treated like a Bahuvrihi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrihi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so न न or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves 1st VI. 1. 223 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd VI. 2. 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd VI. 2. 172 already mentioned, 4th VIII. 1. 3 by which the second member becomes anudatta, The rule VI. 2. 1 however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrihi-vat एकैक is the rule of samāsanta affixing. Thus क्क् क्क्, पूः पूः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10) do not get the samāsanta affix ञ् by V. 4. 74.

आबाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, बाधे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबाधनमाबाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्तु धर्मः । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य द्वे भवतः बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वात् कार्त्तव्यं भवति ॥

10. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrihi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus गतंगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्टः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine, and गतंगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine (not गतांगता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.

कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारय, वत्, उत्तरेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यं भवतीत्येतद्वदितव्यम् । कर्मधारयत्वे प्रयोजनं सुक्लोप-
पुंवज्ञावान्तोऽसत्त्वानि ॥

11. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhāraya is to elide the case - affix (II. 4. 71), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42), and to regulate the accent by VI. 1. 223. Thus पटुपटुः, वृदुवृदुः where the first member has lost the case-affix. पटुपटुी, वृदुवृदुी where the first member is treated as a masculine, even when there is a क् in the penultimate as कालककालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पटुपटुः, पटुपटुी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223 was debarred by VIII. 1. 3, but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223. The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sūtra being an adhikāra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareshu.

प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकारे, गुण-वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकारे मेरः साहचर्यं च । तद्विह साहचर्यं प्रकारे गृह्यते । प्रकारे वर्त्तमानस्य गुणवचनस्य
हे भवतः ॥

- वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भानुपूर्व्ये हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ स्वार्थे भवधार्थमापेनेकस्मिन्हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आपले हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिहारे हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आभीष्टये हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ डाचि हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थान्तिघाययिवक्षायां हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उत्तरउत्तमयोः समसप्रधारणयोः स्त्री निगदे भावे हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ कर्मव्यति १२ त्र्यनाम्नो हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् सामासवच्च बहुलम् ॥
वा० ॥ स्त्रीनपुंसकयारुत्तरपदस्य चान्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

12. An adjective is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karma-
dhāraya.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference' and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here : i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. * Thus पटुपटुः, 'tolerably sharp', वृदुवृदुः "pretty soft", वृणुवृणुः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix जातवर् (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus पटुजातीयः, वृदुजातीयः ॥

Why do we say prakāre "when denoting somewhat like it"? Observe पटुवैवदत्तः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्भाणवकः, 'a fiery boy', गौ बौहीकः 'a cow-like Bāhika'. Here

'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vart.:—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलाः, भमे भमे सूक्ष्माः, उद्येष्ठ उद्येष्ठ प्रवेशयः ॥

Vart.:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha out of this kârshâpaṇa to you two': i, e. give only *two* masha one to each. A kârshâpaṇa contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vipsâ). The words माषं माषं देहि = द्वौ-देहि; the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say when it expresses the limit? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ देहि, चीन्या माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, चीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि ॥

Vart.:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice. The word चापल in the vârtika means 'a confused state of mind'. As अहिरहिः बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व "a snake, a snake, beware. beware'. It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As: अहिः अहिः अहिः, बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व ॥

Vart.:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, स भवान् लुनीहि लुनीहि इत्येवायं लुनाति ॥ See III. 4. 2.

Vart.:—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, मुक्ता मुक्ता ब्रजति, भोजं भोजं ब्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Vart.:—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as, पटपटाकरोति, पटपटाकरोति ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here, द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the vârtika as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

Vart.:—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वं पूर्वं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पष्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमतरं पष्यन्ते ॥

Vart.:—The words ending in the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभावामावाक्यौ, कतरा कतरा अनयोराक्यता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्वं इमे आक्याः, कतमा कतमा एषामा-

व्यता ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तन; as; उभावि-
भावाब्जौ, किहशी किहशी अनयोरव्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun
denoting condition (as आक्यता) is not in the feminine : as, उभाविभावाब्जौ, कतर क-
तरोऽनयोर्विभवः “ Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness.”

Vart.—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled;
and diversely it is treated like a compound (II. 2. 27) when it is not treated
like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the 'nominative
singular. See I. 3. 14, III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127. Thus. अन्योन्यादिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति
“these Brāhmanas feed one another.” अन्योन्यादिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति ॥ अन्योन्यादि
ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as
a compound, and इतर is always so treated. The following are from Siddhānta
Kaumudi:— अन्योन्यौ, अन्योन्यान् अन्योन्येनकृतं, अन्योन्यसौदत्तं, अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरावृशन्ते
(Māgh) परस्परं ॥

Vart.—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added option-
ally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्यो ज्यादिमे ब्राह्मण्यौ
भोजयतः, अन्योन्यां भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योन्यादिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः,
इतरेतरादिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरादिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥

अकृच्छ्रेप्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कृच्छ्रे, प्रिय, सुखयोः,
अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय सुख इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यां हे भवतः अकृच्छ्रे घोले ॥

13. The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated op-
tionally, when they mean “easily, without any difficulty”.

The word कृच्छ्र means 'difficulty and sorrow', अकृच्छ्र means 'without
difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियप्रियेण ददाति, सुखसुखेन ददाति, or प्रियेण
ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्व नायासेन ददाति ॥ That is, he gives with
pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say “when meaning
easily”? Observe प्रियः पुत्रः “beloved son”. सुखी रयः ॥

यथास्वे यथायथम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा स्वे, यथा यथम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यो य आत्मा यद्यत्स्वीयं सत्तद्यथास्वं तस्मिन् यथायथमिति निपात्यते । यथायथस्य द्विवचनं
नपुंसकलिङ्गता च निपात्यते ॥

14. The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the
sense of “respectively, fitly, properly”.

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called
यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter
gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वभावं “all ob-
jects have been known according to their respective nature”. सर्वेषां तु यथायथं =
यथास्वीयं ॥

द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वन्द्वम्, रहस्य, मर्यादा वचन, व्युत्क्रमण, यज्ञ पात्र प्रयोग, अभि व्यक्तिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वमिति द्विशब्दस्य द्विर्वचनं पूर्वपदस्याग्नावः अत्वं चोत्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रक्ष्य मर्धादावचनं व्युत्क्रमणं यज्ञपात्र प्रयोग अभिव्यक्ति एतेषु अर्थेषु ॥

15. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word द्वन्द्व is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first इ into अम्, and the second इ into अ ॥ The word द्वन्द्व itself means रक्ष्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' मर्धादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus द्वन्द्व मन्त्रवन्ते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or मर्धादावचनः, as, भाषतुं क्षीमे पशवो द्वन्द्वं मियुनावन्ते = माता पुत्रेण मियुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Śāṅkh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—द्वन्द्वव्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धनं पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as—द्वन्द्वं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुजन्ति शीरः (See I. 3. 64) ॥ अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation : as—द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वती, द्वन्द्वं संकर्षणं वासुदेवो = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word द्वन्द्व is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, द्वन्द्वं युञ्जं वर्णते, द्वन्द्वानि सहतेधीरः, चार्ये द्वन्द्वः &c.

पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्थेत्ययमधिकारः प्रागपशान्ताधिकारात् । यदित उर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामः पदस्थेत्येव तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

16. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase "of a word", or "to the whole of a word".

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55. Whatever we shall treat of here-after, should be understood to apply to a full 'pada' or a completed word. Thus VIII. 2. 23, (संयोगान्तस्य लोपः) teaches "there is elision of the final of what ends in a conjunct consonant". The word पदस्य must be supplied here to complete the sense: viz, of a word which ends in a conjunct consonant, the final is elided. Thus पचन्, यजन्, from पचन्त् and यजन्त् ॥

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe पचन्तौ, यजन्तौ where the त् though sanyogānta is not elided, because the stem is no longer called pada. The force of the Genitive in पदस्य must be construed according to the context, sometimes as sthāna-shashṭhi i. e. "in the room of the whole pada"; and sometimes as avayava-shashṭhi i. e. "of a pada-of the portion of a pada".

पदात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादित्ययमधिकारः प्राक्कुत्सने च सुप्यगोचारादित्येतस्माद्यदित उर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामः पदादित्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

17. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada".

Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes *after a pada*. Thus the sūtra VIII. 1. 19, teaches "of an amantrita". The phrase पदान्, must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, "of a pada, which is in the Vocative case, and which comes after another pada, all vowels become anudatta". Thus पचसि देवदत्त "Cookest thou, O Devadatta". Why do we say, "after a pada"? Observe देवदत्त पचसि ॥ Here Devadatta is not anudatta (VI. 1. 198).

अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद्-आदौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति च सर्वमिति च अपादाशयित्वा च एतच्चयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिसमाप्ते, रित्त
उत्तरं बह्वक्षयः अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादाशयित्वं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

The three words anudattam "unaccented", sarvam "the whole", and apādātau "not in the beginning of a Pada of a verse", should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says "of a Vocative". The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: "all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistich"; as पचसि देवदत्त ॥

Why do we say "when not at the beginning of a hemistich"? Observe वने नियतं रजसं द्रव्यो अनवभृष्टयम्, here द्रव्यो though in the Vocative case, is not anudatta, as it stands at the beginning of a Pada.

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches "वः and नः are the substitutes of युष्माक् अस्माक् in the plural". The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus आनोदः स्वं, जनपदो नः स्वम् ॥ But at the beginning of a hemistich, we must have the forms युष्माकं and अस्माकं instead of वः and नः ॥ As,

रुद्रो विश्वेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।

स एव नाथो भगवानस्माकं शत्रुमर्वनः ॥

The word पाद् in the sūtra refers both to the hemistiches of the sacred Rik hymns, as well as to secular ślokas.

Q. Why do we employ the word सर्वे in the sūtra ?

Ans. The word sarvam is used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become anudatta. For the word पदान् (VIII. 1. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sūtra governed by it, will be performed on

the *first* syllable, according to the maxim षादिः परस्य ॥ Therefore, by rule VIII. 1. 28, the word वैचति, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because चाप् and तिप् are anudatta), will only lose its accent in देवदत्तः वैचति; but not so the verb करोति which is acutely accented in the middle (by the vikaraṇa accent) in देवदत्तः करोति ॥ But by force of the word सर्वे, करोति also loses its accent.

Q. This cannot be the reason, for the author indicates by his prohibition in Sūtra VIII. 1. 29, that a verb loses its accent, *where ever* that accent may be. For there is no verb when conjugated in लुट् which has acute on the *first* syllable.

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used to prevent the operation of अलोऽन्त्याधीः; for where the rule षादिः परस्य will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if "sarvam" was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. 1. 28 would apply to कुरुतेः which is finally acute by VI. 1. 186, in देवदत्तयज्ञवल्की कुरुते; but not to देवदत्तः करोति ॥

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word 'sarvam' in the sūtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the *finals*, by the prohibition he makes in favor of लृट् in VIII. 1. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in Lṛit, which has acute on the final. All Lṛit is acute in the middle by VI. 1. 186. So the अलोऽन्त्यस्य rule does not apply.

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used for this reason. Had 'sarvam', not been used, then in those cases where there was no other rule to apply, like VIII. 1. 19, there *only* the word would become anudatta. But in cases where another rule also operated, there this anudatta rule would not apply, for then there would be two different sentences. For a thing which is already in existence can be made the subject of a rule ordering certain operations to be performed on it; but not so a thing which will come in existence in future time. Thus the words वाँ and नौ are ordained as substitutes of yushmad and asmad by one sentence VIII. 1. 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta-hood. So here there is separation of sentences (vākya-bheda): which is not desirable; for a vākya bheda should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word 'sarvam', this vākya-bheda is made tolerable.

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes वाँ and नौ should come in the room of the *whole declined* forms of yushmad and asmad, with their case-affixes. Had not this word (sarvam) been used, then वाँ and नौ would have replaced only 'yushmad' and 'asmad'. Obj. Will not the anuvritti of the word 'padasya', cause the *whole declined word* to be replaced by वाँ and नौ, not only the crude-forms yushmad and asmad? And there cannot be a full word unless it takes case-affixes; so the whole of yushmad and asmad with their case-affixes will be replaced. Where is the necessity of using the word 'sar-

vam? Ans. This objection will apply to those cases where a Pada is a word ending in a case-affix. But the word पद् is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal *stem* (not a *full* word) is also called Pada by I. 4. 17, before non-sarvanamasthana case-affixes. Therefore yushmad and asmad will be *pada* before those affixes. Thus before the affix of Dative Dual, they will be called Pada ; and had सर्वे not been used, then only “yushmad” and “asmad” will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus मामो वां शीयते, जनपदो नौ शीयते ॥ Here वां and नौ would require after them the case - affix भ्यां otherwise.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य पदस्य परात्परस्यापादादौ वर्त्तमानस्य सर्वस्यानुशासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समान वाक्ये निघात युष्मद् स्मरारेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

19. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.

Thus पचसि देवदत्त, पचसि युज्जुत्तु ॥ The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. 1. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

Vart:—The rules relating to nighâta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighâta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—अयं दण्डो, हरानेन ॥ “This is the staff. Carry by means of it.” Here हर does not lose its accent by VIII. I. 28, though preceded by the Noun danḍa, because these are parts of two different sentences. भोजनं पच, तत्र भविष्यति । भोजनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ “Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me.” That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. I. 22) for yushmad and asmad, for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीह विष्णुमित्रो, देवदत्तागच्छ “Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta.” Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case, does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समर्थः पदविधिः will make this vârtika redundant. In all the above examples, the different sentences are connected with each other in sense. Thus in the last example, Devadatta was searching for Vishnumitra, when some one says to him, ‘Here is V. come back D.’ Thus the two sentences are samârtha, yet there is no nighâta. But the rule will apply here:—इह देवदत्त ! माता ते कथयति । नद्यास्तिष्ठति (VIII. 1. 28) कूलं । घालीनां ते भोजनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighâta rule &c does apply: inspite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

In the last example, the construction is इह स्थिता माता ते देवदत्त, and not इह देवदत्त. Thus इह is in syntactical construction with स्थिता and not देवदत्त, yet it causes nighāta of Devadatta. Similarly in नद्यास्तिष्ठति कूलं, the word नद्याः is not in construction with तिष्ठति, but with कूलं, i.e. नद्याः कूलं तिष्ठति; yet it causes the nighāta of तिष्ठति ॥ Similarly शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with भोजनं, i. e. शालीनां भोजनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वाञ्जावौ ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, षष्ठी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयास्ययोः, वाम्, नावौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद् इत्येतयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वयासंख्यं वाम्नौइत्येतावादेशौ भवतस्तौ वाञ्जावौ ॥

20. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudātta.

All the three sūtras पदस्य, पदान् and अनुवाचं सर्वमपादाशौ are applicable here. Thus मामो वां स्वप् । जनपदो नौ स्वप् । मामो वां दीयते । जनपदो नौ दीयते । मामो वां पश्यति । जनपदो नौ पश्यति ॥

These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

Why do we say "for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative"? In other cases there will be no substitution. As, मामो युवाभ्यां कृतम् ॥ The word स्य in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: इति युष्मत्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case yet वः substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

बहुवचनस्य घञसौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्, नसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वयासंख्यं वस् नस् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

21. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and नस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudātta).

Thus मामो वः स्वप्, जनपदोवः स्वप्; मामो वो दीयते, जनपदो वो दीयते; मामो वः पश्यति जनपदो वः पश्यति ॥

ते. वाः त्रेकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः त्रेकवचनान्तयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वयासंख्यं ते मे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

22. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and these are anudātta).

Thus मामस्ते स्वम्, मामो मे स्वम्, मामस्ते दीयते, मामो मे दीयते ॥ For the Accusative singular, other substitutes have been taught in the next sūtra, hence ते and मे come only in Genitive and Dative.

त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वा, मौ, द्वितीयायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनत्वेति वर्त्तते । द्वितीयाया अवेकवचनं तदन्तयोर्ध्वस्मत्तोर्यायासंख्यंत्वा मा इत्येतावाहसौ भवतः ॥

23. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

The word एकवचनस्व is understood here. Thus मामस्त्वा पश्यति, मामो मा पश्यति ॥

न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च, वा, ह, अह, एव, युक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च वा ह अह एव एभिर्योगे शुष्मस्मत्तोर्यायासंख्यो न भवति ॥

24. The above substitutions do not take place when there is in connection with the pronouns any of these:— च, 'and' वा, 'or' ह, 'oh! अह 'wonderful', or एव 'only'.

Thus मामस्तव च स्वम्, मामो मम च स्वम् ॥

युवयोश्च स्वम् । आवयोश्च स्वम् । युष्माकं च स्वम् । अस्माकं च स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं च दीयते मामो मद्वां च दीयते । युवाभ्यां च दीयते । आवाभ्यां च दीयते । युष्मभ्यं च दीयते । अस्मभ्यं च दीयते । मामस्त्वां च पश्यति । मामो मां च पश्यति । युवां च पश्यति । आवां च पश्यात । युष्मांश्च पश्यति । अस्मांश्च पश्यति ॥ वा । मामस्तव वा स्वम् । मामो मम वा स्वम् । युवयोर्वा स्वम् । आवयोर्वा स्वम् । युष्माकं वा स्वम् । अस्माकं वा स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं वा दीयते । मामो मद्वां वा दीयते । युवाभ्यां वा दीयते । आवाभ्यां वा दीयते । युष्मभ्यं वा दीयते । अस्मभ्यं वा दीयते । मामस्त्वां वा पश्यति । मामो मां वा पश्यति । युवां वा पश्यति । आवां वा पश्यति । युष्मान् वा पश्यति । अस्मान्वा पश्यति । ह । मामस्तव ह स्वम् । मामो मम ह स्वम् । युवयोर्ह स्वम् । आवयोर्ह स्वम् । युष्माकं ह स्वम् । अस्माकं ह स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं ह दीयते । मामो मद्वां ह दीयते । युवाभ्यां ह दीयते । आवाभ्यां ह दीयते । युष्मभ्यं ह दीयते । अस्मभ्यं ह दीयते । मामस्त्वां ह पश्यति । मामो मां ह पश्यति । युवां ह पश्यति । आवां ह पश्यति । युष्मान् ह पश्यति । अस्मान् ह पश्यति । अह । मामस्तवाह स्वम् । मामो ममाह स्वम् । युवयोरह स्वम् । आवयोरह स्वम् । युष्माकमह स्वम् । अस्माकमह स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यमह दीयते । मामो मद्ममह दीयते । युवाभ्यामह दीयते । आवाभ्यामह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमह दीयते । अस्मभ्यमह दीयते । मामस्त्वामह पश्यति । मामो मामह पश्यति । युवामह पश्यति । आवामह पश्यति । युष्मानह पश्यति । अस्मानह पश्यति । एव । मामस्तवैव स्वम् । मामो ममेव स्वम् । युवयोरेव स्वम् । आवयोरेव स्वम् । युष्माकमेव स्वम् । अस्माकमेव स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यमेव दीयते । मामो मद्ममेव दीयते । युवाभ्यामेव दीयते । आवाभ्यामेव दीयते । युष्मभ्यमेव दीयते । अस्मभ्यमेव दीयते । मामस्त्वामेव पश्यति । मामो मामेव पश्यति । युवामेव पश्यति । आवामेव पश्यति । युष्मानेव पश्यति । अस्मानेव पश्यति । युक्तमहणं साक्षाद्योगप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । युक्तयुक्ते प्रतिषेधो न भवति । मामश्च ते स्वम् । नगरं च मे स्वम् ।

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore, where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms. As मामश्च ते स्वं, नगरं च मे स्वम् ॥

The particles च, वा, & c denote conjunction, 'separation' 'wonder'

&c. Where the sense of ' conjunction. ' ' separation ' &c are inherent in the pronouns yushmad and asmad, and these particles are employed to manifest that sense, there the present sūtra will apply its prohibition.

पद्धार्यैर्भ्रानालोचने ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्ध्य, अर्थैः, च, अनालोचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद्धार्या दर्शनार्थाः । दर्शनं ज्ञानम् । भ्रालोचनं चक्षुर्विज्ञानम् । तैः पद्धार्यैरनालोचने वर्त्तमानैर्युक्तं युष्मदस्मदोर्वाङ्मावादयो न भवन्ति ॥

25. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of "seeing", when physical seeing is not denoted.

The word पद्धार्याः is equivalent to दर्शनार्थाः, and दर्शन means 'knowledge', i.e. verbs denoting 'to know', भ्रालोचन means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical 'seeing' opposed to metaphorical "seeing" = "knowing". The substitutions of वाम् and नौ &c. for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting 'seeing' (metaphorically) but not 'looking' (physically).

Thus मामस्तव स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामो मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; मामस्तुभ्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्योगतः, मामो मह्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामस्त्वां समीक्ष्यागतः, मामो मां समीक्ष्यागतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe मामस्त्वा पद्ध्यति, मामो मा पद्ध्यति ॥

Ishiti:—With regard to verbs of "seeing", the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct: as, we have already illustrated above.

सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषां ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स पूर्वायाः, प्रथमायाः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यमानपूर्वात्यथमान्तात्परादुत्तरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्विभाषा वाङ्मावादयो न भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदस्मदो विभाषा अनन्वादेश इतिवक्तव्य ॥

वा० ॥ सर्व एव वाङ्मावादयोऽन्वादेश विभाषा वक्तव्यः ॥

26. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative, which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally.

Thus मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम् or मामे कम्बलस्तवस्वम् ॥ मामे कम्बलोमेस्वम् ॥ मामेकम्बलोममस्वम् ॥ मामेकम्बलस्तेदीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलस्तुभ्यं दीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलो मे दीयते ॥ मामे कम्बलो मह्यं दीयते ॥ मामे छात्रास्त्वा पद्ध्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रास्त्वां पद्ध्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रा मा पद्ध्यन्ति ॥ मामे छात्रा मां पद्ध्यन्ति ॥

Why do we say "which itself is preceded by another word"? Observe कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Why do we say "after a Nominative"? Observe कम्बलो मामे ते स्वम्, कम्बलो मामे मे स्वम् ॥

Vārt:—The option herein taught is restricted to युष्मद् and अस्मद् when not employed in anvādeśā. But when there is anvādeśā, then the substitution is

compulsory and not optional. This *vārtika* restricts the scope of the *sūtra*, and makes it a *vyavasthita vibhāṣā*. Therefore, there is no option here, where there is *anvādeśa*:—अयो मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अयो मामे कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Vārti:—Others say, that the substitutes *वां, नौ &c* are *all* optional, when not employed in *anvādeśa*, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not. Thus the rules 20, 21, 22, 23 are optional. As: कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् or कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ Why do we say “when not in *anvādeśa*”? Observe अयो कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अयो कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥ Q. If this is so, where is the necessity of the present *sūtra* at all? Ans. The present *sūtra* is for the sake of *anvādeśa*: i.e. the option taught in the present *sūtra* will take place only then, when there is *anvādeśa* and not otherwise; thus अयो मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or अयो मामे कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, अयो मामे कम्बलो मे स्वम्, or अयो मामे कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ In other words, according to this *vārtika*, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all *optional* in *anvādeśa*, but *compulsory* where is no *anvādeśa*; but when the pronoun is preceded by a nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above rules are not *compulsory*, even in *anvādeśa*: there also the option will apply.

तिङ्गो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्ः, गोत्रादीनि, कुत्सन, आभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्न्तात्पर्याणि गोत्रादीनि कुत्सने आभीक्ष्ण्ये चार्थे वर्तमानानि अनुशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words *गोत्र &c*, become unaccented after a finite verb, when a contempt or a repetition is intended.

Thus पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति गोत्रम्, when contempt is meant.

Here पचति गोत्रम् means ‘he proclaims his *Gotra &c*, so that he may get food &c’. पचति is from the root पचि व्यञ्ज्करणे ‘to make evident’ (Bhu. 184). Similarly जल्पति गोत्रम् “he repeatedly utters, his descent &c, in order to get married &c”. Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i.e. he repeatedly utters his *Gotra* as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And पचति पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति जल्पति गोत्रम् when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly पचति ह्वयम्, पचति पचति ह्वयम् ॥ The word ह्वयम् is a noun derived from the root ह्व् by the affix क्व, the वच् substitution for ह्व् has not taken place, as an anomaly.

1 गोत्र, 2 ह्वय, 3 प्रवचन, 4 प्रवृत्तन, 5 प्रकथन, 6 प्रत्ययन, 7 प्रपञ्च, 8 प्राच, 9 न्याय, 10 प्रचक्षण, 11 निचक्षण, 12 अवचक्षण, 13 स्वाध्याय, 14 भूयिष्ठ, 15 वा नाम (नाम वा) 16 प्रवचन, 17 प्रयजन,

The word नाम optionally becomes *anudatta*: in the alternative, it is first-acute. Thus पचति नाम् or पचति नाम ॥

Why do we say 'after a finite verb'? Observe कुस्त्रितं गोत्रम् ॥

Why do we say "Gotra and the rest"? Observe पचति पापम् ॥ Here पापं is an adverb.

Why do we say 'when contempt or repetition is meant'? Observe खनति गोत्रं समेत्य कूपं ॥ "He digs a well having assembled the Gotra".

The words 'contempt and repetition' in the text qualify the whole sentence or sūtra, and not the word गोत्रादि nor the word अनुदात्त understood. For we find that wherever the word गोत्रादि is used in this Chapter, it always implies the sense of 'contempt or repetition'. Thus the word गोत्रादि is used in VIII. I. 57 and there also the sense is of contempt and repetition.

तिङ्ङतिङः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्, अतिङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङन्तं पश्मतिङन्तात्प्रात्ययानुदात्तं भवति ॥

28. A finite verb is unaccented, when a word precedes it, which is not a finite verb.

Thus देवदशः पचति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलद्रुस्य लम्, शुक्लं वस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'when the preceding word is not a finite verb'? Observe भवति पचति 'the act of cooking exists' = पाक क्रिया भवति ॥ Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb pachati does not lose its accent. So also तरनिरिञ् जयति, क्षीति, पुष्याति 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives'. अस्मभ्यां ज्ञेहि योस्त्विय "for us conquer and fight". The word अतिङः is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this sūtra indicates that the condition of समानवाक्य does not apply to this sūtra; so that the two words need not be portions of the same sentence, for the application of this nighāta: as we have already explained in VIII. I. 19. Other examples are: अग्निमीडे पुरोहितं (Rv. I. I. 1). स इदरेवेषु शुच्युहि (Rv. I. I. 4). ईग्ने सपाथेनो ध्रुव (Rv. V. I. 1), यजमानस्य पशून प्राहि ॥

न लुट् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वजातिप्रसक्ते प्रतिषेध भारभ्यते । लुटन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

29. But the Periphrastic Future is not unaccented, when it is preceded by a word which is not a finite verb.

This restricts the scope of the last sūtra which was rather too wide. Thus इवः कर्त्ता, इवः कर्त्तारो, मासेन कर्त्तारः ॥ The Sārvadhātuka affixes ङा, रौ, रस्, are anudātta after the affix तास्ति by VI. I. 186, the whole affix तास् becomes udātta (III. I. 3) and where the टि portion of तास् i. e. the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix ङा, there also the आ of ङा becomes udātta, because the udātta has been elided. See VI. I. 161.

निपातैर्यद्यदिहन्तकुविन्नेच्छेच्चणकश्चिद्यत्रयुक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कु वित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण्, कश्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥

श्लोक्तः ॥ नेति वचन्ते । यत् यदि हन्त कुविन् नेत् चेत् चण् कश्चित् यत्र इत्यंतांनिपातयुक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because', यदि, 'if', हन्त, 'also', 'O!', कुविन्, 'well', नेत्, 'not', चेत्, 'if', च 'if', कश्चित् (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not'), and यत्र 'where'.

Thus यत् करोति, यत् पचति, यदि करोति or यदि पचति, हन्त करोति, हन्त पचति, कुविन् करोति, कुविन् पचति, नेत् जिह्मायन्त्यो नरकं पैताम (Nir. I. 11), स चेद् भुङ्क्ते. स चेद् अधीते ॥ The particle चण् with the indicatory ण् has the force of चेत् ॥ Thus अयं च मरिच्यति = अयं चेत् मरिच्यति ॥ Other examples are स्वप् च सोम नो वैशो जीवातुम् नै मयमहे 'if thou, Soma wiltst us to live, we shall not die' औ च गच्छान् मित्रमेना दधाम " if he will come here, we will make friends with him." इन्द्रश्च घृलयाति नः, नतः पश्चादयं नद्यात् " If Indra makes us happy &c". This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: कश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते, कश्चिद् अधीते, यत्र भुङ्क्ते, यत्राधीते ॥

Why do we say "with particles"? Observe यत् कूजति शकटम् = गच्छन् कूजति शकटम् ॥ Here यत् is not a particle, but the Present Participle of the root इण् 'to go'. It means गच्छन् 'the car creaks while going'. Rule VIII. 1. 28 applies here.

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadokta &c. that यत् should only be taken, which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यत् be taken at all? Ans.—This sūtra indicates that the प्रतिपदोक्त rule and the साहचर्य rule do not apply here. Thus the word यावत् formed with the affix वतुप् (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यावत् of this sūtra. As सावदुषो षथो असमर्थं, रास्य यावत् स्तोत्रंभ्यो भरदो गृणानाः = यावतोऽप्यत्र प्रतीगृहणीयात् ॥

Why do we use the word युक्तं "in connection with". Observe यत्र क्व च ते मनो दक्ष दधस उत्तरम् ॥

Other examples are: यं यत्तं परिभूरिति (Rv. I. 1. 4.) 'what offering thou protectest'. यत्र नः पूर्वं पितरः परैर्युः 'whither our fathers of old departed'. अथा मुदिय यदि यातुधानो षैस्मि 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer', हन्तेयान् पृथिवीम् विर्मै-जामहे " come on, let us share up this earth ". ब्रह्मा चेदस्तम् भैमहीत् 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', नेत् स्वा सैपति सूर्यो अर्षिणा 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam' उक्थेभिः कुविद् आर्षमत् 'will he come hither for our praises'(Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥

श्लोक्तः ॥ नह इत्येतेन युक्ते प्रत्यारम्भे तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

31. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with नह when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is pratyārambha. Thus A says to B: "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat'—as नह भोक्ष्यसे ॥ Here भोक्ष्यसे retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for से becomes accentless as it follows अद्गुपदेश (VI. I. 186), and स्य becomes udātta by the प्रत्ययस्वर (III. I. 3).

Another example is नहाद्येष्यसे 'No, you will study'. Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe नह वै तस्मिन्न लोके वैक्षिणमिच्छन्ति "Verily in that world they do not wish for fee". Here it is pure negation. तस्मिन् is first acute by फिद् accent, लोके is final acute because it is formed by अच् of पचादि (III. I. 134), वैक्षिण is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in ञ (स्वाङ्गशिदामदन्तानाम् Phit II. 6) and इच्छन्ति is anudātta by VIII. I. 28.

सत्यं प्रश्ने ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यमित्यनेन युक्तं तिरुन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति प्रश्ने ॥

32. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with सत्य when used in asking a question.

Thus सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे 'Truly will you eat? सत्यमध्येष्यसे ॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe सत्यं वक्ष्यामि नातुतं 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood', सत्यमिद्वा इ तं प्रथमिन् स्तवान् ॥

अङ्गाप्रतिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रतिलोम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग इत्यनेन युक्तं तिरुन्तमप्रतिलोम्ये गम्यमाने नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

33. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with अङ्ग when used in a friendly assertion.

Anything done to injure another is prati-loma, opposite of this is apratiloma, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to anuloma. Thus अङ्गर्वच 'yes, you may cook'. Here aṅga has the force of friendly permission. So also अङ्ग वैद ॥ But when it has the force of pratiloma, we have:—अङ्ग कूर्जो ३ वृषल ॥ इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि जाल्म "Well, chuckle O sinner! soon wilt thou learn, O coward". Here अङ्ग is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person: and is pratiloma action: for pluta-vowel see VIII. 2. 96.

हि च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विहित्यनेन युक्तं तिरुन्तमप्रतिलोम्ये नातुदात्तं भवति ॥

34. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with हि when used in a friendly assertion.

Thus स हि कुर्वे, सहि वैच, सहि वैड ॥ Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'? Observe स हि कृञ् वृषल । इवानीं ज्ञास्यासि ज्ञात्म ॥

छन्दस्यनेकमपि साकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अनेकम्, अपि, साकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि चेतिवर्त्तते छन्दसि विषये हियुक्तं तिङन्तं साकाङ्क्षमनेकमपि नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

35. In the Veda, the finite verb retains its accent (but not always), in connection with हि, when it stands in correlation to another verb, even more than one.

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:—अनृतं हि मत्तो वदति। पाप्मा एमं वि पुनान्ति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure: i. e. he does incur sin'. Here both verbs वदति and विपुनान्ति retain their accent: and हि has the force of यत् 'because'. According to Kaiyyata the meaning of this sentence is यस्मान् मत्तोऽनृतं वदति, तस्मादनृतवदनं दोषेण न युज्यते i. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have:—अग्निर्हि पूर्वद्वैजयत् तमिन्द्रोऽनूवृञ्चत् ॥ Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of हि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—अजा ह्यग्नेरजनिट गर्भात् (or गर्भम्), सा वा अपृष्यञ्ज अनितारमये (Taittiriya Samhitā IV. 2. 10, 4). The word अजनिट is first acute, the augment अद् having the accent; while अपृष्यञ्ज is all anudatta.

यावद्यथाश्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाश्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

36. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with यावत् and यथा ॥

Thus यावद् मुञ्क्ते, यथामुञ्क्ते; यावश्धीते, यथाधीते, देववत्तः वैचति यावत्, देववत्तः वैचति यथा ॥ The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित् कण्वमावन्म् ॥ The word आवन्म् is the Imperative (लोट्) Second Person Dual of the root अच् ॥ यावत् स्तोत्रुभ्योऽरसोष्-जानाः ॥ The verb अरवः is Imperfect (लङ्) Second Person singular of the root रच् 'to scratch'. The accent, is on अ (the augment).

पूजायां नानन्तरम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजायाम्, न, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्विष्यां इत्येताभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव ॥

37. But not so when these particles यावत् and यथा immediately precede the verb and denote 'praise'.

That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudatta. Thus यावत् प्रचक्षि शोभनम्, यथा प्रचक्षति शोभनम्, यावत् करोति चारु ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'praise'? Observe यावद् युङ्क्ते, यथा युङ्क्ते ॥

Why do we say 'immediately'? Observe यावद् देवदत्तः प्रैचक्षति शोभनं, यथा देवदत्तः करोति चारु ॥ Here the verbs retain their accent by the last sūtra.

उपसर्गव्यपेतं च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, व्यपेतम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथाभ्यां युक्तं उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजायां विषये नातुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुशात्तमेव भवति ॥

38. A finite verb loses its accent when it denotes 'praise' and is joined immediately with यावत् and यथा through the intervention of an upasarga or verbal-preposition.

The last sūtra taught that the verb loses its accent when *immediately* preceded by यावत् and यथा ॥ This qualifies the word 'immediately' and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus यथा प्रकरोति चारु, यथा प्रचक्षति शोभनं, यावत् प्रकरोति चारु, यावत् प्रचक्षति शोभनम् ॥

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus यावद् देवदत्तः प्रैचक्षति, शोभनं, यथा विष्णु मित्रः प्रकरोति चारु ॥ The upasarga प्र has udatta accent. Prof. Bohtlingk's Edition reads the sūtra as व्यपेतं ॥

तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, पश्य, पश्यत, अहैः, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु पश्य पश्यत अह इत्येतेर्युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

39. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with तु, पश्य, पश्यत, and अह, when meaning 'praise'.

Thus माणवकोस्तु युङ्क्ते शोभनम्; पश्य माणवको युङ्क्ते शोभनं, पश्यत माणवको युङ्क्ते शोभनम्, अह माणवको युङ्क्ते शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पश्य घृणा धावति ॥

The repetition of the word पूजायाम् here, though its anuvritti could have been supplied from VIII. 1. 37, shows that the negation of that sūtra does not extend here: for the पूजायाम् of that sūtra is connected with two negatives, the न of that sūtra, and the न of VIII. 1. 29, but the पूजायाम् of this sūtra is connected with the general न of VIII. 1. 29 only.

Another example is आवह स्वधामतु पुनर्गभ्रत्वमोत्रे ॥

अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

40. A finite verb retains its accent when in connection with अहो meaning 'praise'.

Thus अहो देवदत्तः प्रैचक्षति शोभनं, अहो विष्णुमित्रः करोति चारु ॥ The separation

of this अहो from तु &c, of the last sūtra, indicates that the next rule applies to अहो only. Had अहो been joined with तु &c, then Rule VIII. 1. 41, would have applied to तु &c, which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sūtra.

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं शेषे विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

41. A finite verb retains its accent optionally when in connection with अहो in the remaining cases (i. e. where it does not mean praise).

What is the शेष alluded to here? The शेष means here senses other than पूजा or 'praise'. Thus कटमहो करिष्यसि or कटमहो क्रुरिष्यसि ॥ This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (असूया वचनं) ॥ So also मम गेहमेष्यसि ॥

The word शेष is employed in the sūtra simply for the sake of distinctness; for sūtra 40 applies to cases of puja, while this sūtra will give option in cases other than puja.

पुरा च परीप्सायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरा, च, परीप्सायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं परीप्सायामर्थे विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

42. A finite verb retains its accent optionally in connection with पुरा when it means 'haste' (i. e. when पुरा means 'before').

The word परीप्सा means स्वरा or 'quick'. Thus अधीप्स माणवक्र पुरा विद्योतते विशुन्, or पुरा स्तनयति स्तनयिस्तु ॥ The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmasāstras to study while it thunders or lightens.

Why do we say 'when meaning haste'? Observe नडेन स पुराधीयते ॥ Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means "long ago". So also ऊर्णया स पुराधीयते ॥ See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुरा in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

नन्वित्यनुज्ञैषणायाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ननु, इति, अनुज्ञा, एषणायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननु इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति अनुज्ञैषणायां विषये ॥

43. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with ननु, when with this Particle, permission is asked.

The word एषणा means 'asking, praying'. The word अनुज्ञा means 'permission'. The compound अनुज्ञैषणा means 'asking-of permission'. Thus ननु करामि भोः, "may I do it, sir"; ननु गच्छामि भोः 'can I go sir'. The sense is 'give me permission to do or to go'.

Why do we say when 'asking for' permission? Observe **अकार्षी कढ देवदत्त? ननु कुण्डमि भः** 'Devadatta hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making it'. Here **ननु** has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

किं क्रियाप्रश्नेननुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्रिया-प्रश्ने, अनु-पसर्गमे-अप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमिलेतत्क्रियाप्रश्ने वरा वर्त्तते तदनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं नादुशात्तं भवति ॥

44. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with **किम्**, when with this is asked a question relating to an action, and when the verb is not preceded by a Preposition or by a Negation.

Thus **किं देवदत्तः पचति, आहो स्विद् मुहूर्त्ने ॥ किं देवदत्तः शेते, आहो स्विधीते ॥** Here some say, that the first verb (**पचति** or **शेते**) being directly joined with **किं** retains its accent, whilst the second verb (**मुहूर्त्ने** or **अधीते**) not being joined with **किं**, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. 1. 28. Others say, though the word **किं** is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects of doubt, therefore, **किं** is logically connected with both of them, and so both verbs retain their accents. Thus **मुहूर्त्ने** will retain its accent according to this view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a **क्रिया** or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or साधन ॥ Thus **किं देवदत्त ओदनं पचति आहोस्विच्छार्क ॥**

Why do we say "when a question is asked"? Observe **किमधीते देवदत्तः ॥** Here **किं** is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say 'not preceded by a Preposition'? Observe **किं देवदत्तः म पचति आहोस्वित् प्रकरोति ॥**

Why do we say "not preceded by a negative particle". Observe, **किं देवदत्तो न पठति आहोस्विन् न करोति ॥**

लोपे विभाषा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमो लोपे क्रियाप्रश्ने तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं विभाषा नादुशात्तं भवति ॥

45. When however **किम्** is not added in asking such a question, the finite verb may optionally retain its accent.

When **किम्** is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle, optionally does not become anudatta. When is there the elision of this **किम्** because no rule of Pānini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interrogation, but the word **किम्** is not used. In short, the word 'lopa' here does not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As **देवदत्तः पचति** (or

पुच्छति) आहोश्चिन् वैञ्चति (or पुच्छति) Here the sentence is interrogative, even without the employment of क्तिम् ॥ The option of this sūtra is a Prāpta-vibhāsha, as it is connected with the sense of क्तिम् ॥ The counter-examples are the same as in the last aphorism, but without क्तिम् ॥

एहिमन्ये प्रहासे लृट् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एहि, मन्ये, प्रहासे, लृट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इत्यनेन युक्तं लृटन्तं तिङन्तं नातुवाचं भवति प्रहासे ॥

46. In connection with एहिमन्ये used derisively, the First Future that follows it, retains its accent.

The word प्रहास means great laughter, i. e. derision, mockery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे, नहि भोक्ष्यसे, युक्तः सोऽप्रतियिभिः ॥ एहि मन्ये रयेन यास्वसि, नहि यास्वसि, यातस् तेन पितां ॥ The word एहि is the Imperative second Person of the root इष् preceded by the preposition आह् ॥

Why do we say "used derisively"? Observe एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये इति ; छुष्टु च मन्यसे, साष्टु च मन्यसे ॥

By sūtra VIII. 1. 51, *in fine*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्यर्थं), the following First Future (लृट्) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a *niyama* or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लृट् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लृट् loses its accent here:— एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sūtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 105, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥

The above counter example is given according to Kāśika, according to which एहि मन्ये इति उक्तमोपादानमतन्त्रम् ॥ But according to Mahābhāshya, the counter-example is एहि मन्ये रयेन यास्वसि ॥ Here यास्वसि loses its accent. The meaning of the above is स्वं रयेन यास्वसि इति अहं मन्ये, एहि ॥ According to Kaiy-yata, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:—एहि मन्यसे रयेन यास्यामि ॥

जात्वपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु, अपूर्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु इत्येतद्विद्यमानपूर्वे तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नातुवाचं भवति ॥

47. A finite verb retains its accent after जातु, when this जातु is not preceded by any other word.

Thus आतु मोक्षसि, आतु अथ्वसि, आतु कर्ष्यासि । Here से is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, as it is an sârvadhâtuka affix coming after an अनुपदेश; the word आतु is first acute, as it is a Nipâta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe :—कटं आतु कृष्यासि ॥ The word कटं is end-acute as it is a किद् or noun.

किवृत्तं च चितुत्तरम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्वृत्तम्, च, चितुत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमोवृत्तं किवृत्तं, किवृत्तमहणेन तद्विभक्त्यान्तं प्रतीबाहुतत्तमौ च मय्यो, तत्किवृत्तं चितुत्तर-
मविद्यमानपूर्वं वक्ष्येन कुन्तं तिङन्तं नानुशासं भवति ॥

48. Also after a form of किम्, when the particle चित् follows it, and when no other word precedes such form of किम्, the finite verb retains its accent.

The word किम्वृत्तं is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning किमोवृत्तं ॥ The word किवृत्तं means any form of किद् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of किद् when it takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम ॥ Thus कश्चिद् मुहूर्त्ते, कश्चिद् भोजयति, कश्चिद् अधीते, केनचित् कर्षति, कस्मै चिद् ईशति, कतरचित् कर्षति, कतरचित् मुहूर्त्ते ॥

Why do we say 'followed by चित्'? Observe को मुहूर्त्ते ॥

The word अपूर्वे of the last sūtra qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here :— देवदत्तः किंचित् पठति ॥

आहोउताहो चानन्तरम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहो, उताहो, च, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघातप्रतिषेधोनुपसर्गते ॥ अपूर्वमिति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां कुन्तमन्तरं तिङन्तं नानुशासं भवति ॥

49. Also after an immediately preceding आहो and उताहो, when these follow after no other word, the verb retains its accent.

The prohibition of *nighāta* or want of accentuation is understood here, so also there is the anuvṛitti of अपूर्वे from the last.

Thus आहो or उताहो मुहूर्त्ते, उताहो वृत्ति ॥ Why do we say 'immediately preceding'? In the following sūtra will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say "when no word precedes them"? Observe देवदत्त आहो or उताहो मुहूर्त्ते ॥

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां कुन्तं तिङन्तं नानुशासं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कश्च शेषः बदन्यदनन्तपत् ॥

50. When the above-mentioned Particles आहो and उताहो do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.

Thus आहो देवदत्तः पंचति or पञ्चति ॥ उताहो देवदत्तः पञ्चति or पञ्चति ॥

गत्यर्थलोटा लृणानच्चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-लोटा, लृट्, न, चेत, कारकम्, सर्व-अन्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिना समानार्था गत्यर्थाः; गत्यर्थानां धातूनां लोट् गत्यर्थलोट्; सेन गत्यर्थलोटा शुक्तं लृटन्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति, न च्चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यभवति ॥

यत्रैव कारके कर्त्तरि कर्मणि वा लोट् तत्रैव यदि लृटपि भवतीत्यर्थः । कर्तृकर्मणी एवान् तिङन्तवाच्य कारकमहणेन गृह्यते न करणादि कारकान्तरम् ॥

51. The First Future retains its accent in connection with the Imperative of a verb denoting 'motion' ('to go, 'to come' to start' &c), but only in that case, when the subject and object of both the verbs are not wholly different one from another.

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word गति 'motion' are called गत्यर्थाः ॥ The Imperative of the गत्यर्थ verbal roots, is called गत्यर्थ-लोट् ॥ In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', the First Future does not become anudatta, if the kāraka is not all different. The sense is; with whatever case-relation (kāraka), whether the Subject or Object, the Imperative is employed, with the same kāraka, the First Future must be employed. In connection with the finite verb here, the word कारक denotes the Subject and Object only, and not any other kāraka, such as Instrument, &c.

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्तमीनं, इक्ष्यसेनम् 'Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it'. Here the subjects of both verbs आगच्छ and इक्ष्यसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely मीनं and एनम् ॥ आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छ and देवदत्त both lose their accent by VIII. 1. 19 and 28, मीनं is first-acute being formed by the निच् affix मन् ॥ So also आगच्छ देवदत्त मीनं, भोदनं भोक्ष्यसे "Come, O Devadatta! to the village, you will eat rice". Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. आहर देवदत्त शालीन्, यज्ञदत्त एतान् भोक्ष्यते ॥ Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीन् ॥ Similarly यज्ञान्तां देवदत्तेन शालयन्, यज्ञदत्तेन भोक्ष्यन्ते "Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajñadatta."

Why do we say 'verbs of motion'? Observe पञ्च देवदत्त भोदनं, भोक्ष्यसे एनम् ॥

Why do we say 'After the Imperative'? Observe आगच्छेदेवदत्त मीनं, इक्ष्यसेनम् ॥ Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the 'First Future'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त मीनं, पश्यसि एनम् ॥ Here the Present Tense is used.

Why do we say 'if the kāraka is not wholly different'? Observe.

आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, पिता ते भ्रातॄन् मोक्षयते ॥ उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, सक्तपक्षेन प्रास्थन्ते ॥ उद्यन्तां
is the Imperative of वृष्ट 'to carry'.

Why do we use the word सर्व 'wholly'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, स्वं च अहं च इदं च एवम् ॥ Here also there is prohibition of *nighāta* and the First Future retains its accent, for the subject of the Future is not *wholly* different from that of the Imperative. For here the subject of the Imperative is the subject also of the Future, though only partly, in conjunction with another. Moreover, the object here in both is the same. Had सर्व not been used in the sūtra, where the sentence would have remained the same, there the rule would have applied, and not where the sentences became different.

लोट् च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटन्तं तिङन्तं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं नानुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

52. Also an Imperative, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', retains its accent, when the subject or object of both the verbs, is not wholly different.

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं पदम् ॥ आगच्छ विष्णुमित्र मामं याधि ॥ आगम्यतां देवदत्तेन मामो दृश्यतां यज्ञवत्तेन ॥

But not here पञ्च देवदत्तौदनं, मुहुरेवेनम् because the first Imperative is not one of गत्यर्थ verb. Nor here, आगच्छेदेवदत्त मामं पदमेनम् because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

If the subject and object of both Imperatives are wholly different, the rule will not apply. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, पदवतु रामं यज्ञवत्तः ॥

By the force of the anuvritti of सर्व the rule will apply to the following: आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं, स्वं चाहं च पदयावः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, by which the 'option' is with regard to लोट् and not लृट् ॥

विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, सोपसर्गम्, अनुत्तमम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे पूर्वमनुवर्त्तते ॥ प्राप्तविभाषितं, लोटन्तं सोपसर्गद्वयसमवाहितं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं तिङन्तं विभाषितं नानुदात्तं भवति न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

53. An Imperative preceded by a Preposition, and not in the First Person, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', may optionally retain its accent, when the *Kāraka* is not wholly different.

The whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here. This is a *Prāpta-vibhāṣā*. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं प्रविशं or प्रविश ॥ आगच्छ देवदत्त मामं प्रयाधि or प्रयाधि ॥ When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII, 1. 71.

Why do we say सोपसर्गे 'joined with a Preposition'? When there is no Preposition, there is no *option* allowed, and the last rule will apply. As आगच्छ देवदत्त आमंपश्य ॥

Why do we say अन्—उत्तमं 'not a First Person'? Observe आ गच्छानि देवदत्त, आमं प्रविशति ॥

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वं सर्वप्रथमवर्त्तते गत्यर्थलोके वर्जयित्वा हन्त इत्यनेन युक्तं लोडन्तं सोपसर्गसुत्तमवर्जितं विभाषितं नाडुदात्तं भवति ॥

54. An Imperative, with a Preposition preceding it, may optionally retain its accent, in connection with हन्त, but not the First Person.

With the exception of गत्यर्थे लोका &c, the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हन्त प्र विद्यु or प्रविद्यो, हन्त प्र छांधि or प्रक्षांधि ॥ But no option is allowed here हन्त कुर्वे, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. 1. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्त ॥ So also हन्त प्रमुनेआवहे, हन्त प्रमुनेआवहे, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. 1. 30.

The word प्रमुनआवहे is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root मुञ् in Atmane pada (I. 3. 66). The Personal ending वहे is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, because the verb is anudatta-it. The vikaraṇa न therefore retains its accent.

आम एकान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, एक-अन्तरम्, आमन्त्रितम्, अनन्तिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपदान्तरमामन्त्रितान्तमनन्तिके नाडुदात्तं भवति ॥

55. After आम, but separated from it by not more than one word, the Vocative retains its accent, when the person addressed is not near.

Thus आम पचसि देवदत्ता १ ; आम भो देवदत्ता १ ॥ The *nighāta* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. 1. 198. In the second example, though भो itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be non-existent by VIII. 1. 72, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII. 1. 73, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows.

Why do we say आम? Observe आक पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here it is anudatta by VIII. 1. 19.

Why do we say एकान्तरम् 'separated only by one word'? Observe आम म पचसि देवदत्ता १ ॥

Why do we say 'the Vocative'? See आम पचसि देवदत्त ॥

Why do we say अनन्तिके 'not near'? See आम् पचसि देवत्त ॥ Here some hold that अनन्तिक is equivalent to दूर 'far off'. Therefore, according to them, the prohibition applies to एकश्रुतिः as well as to निघातः ॥ Had it been merely a prohibition of *nighāta*, then the sūtra would become redundant, as the *nighāta* is precluded by the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33). Thus arguing, they hold that eka-śruti being asiddha, the pluta-udātta of VIII. 2. 84, is not prohibited : and so the last vowel is prolated.

Others say that the word अनन्तिक means 'that which is not far off (दूर) nor very near'. It does not mean दूर only. For had it meant दूर, the author could have used the word दूर in the sūtra. Therefore the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33), has no scope here at all, for it applies to दूर vocatives. Not being दूर, the pluta-udātta also should not be exhibited in the illustration; for the rule VIII. 2. 84, applies also to दूर Vocatives.

In the example आम् नो देवत्त, the word आम् being a Nipāta is first acute; the word नो is a shortened form of भवतु, (VIII.3.1. Vārt). and it is accentless by VIII. 1. 19, being a Vocative case preceded by another word. देवत्त would also have become accentless by the same rule, this sūtra prohibits it. The निघात being thus prohibited by this sūtra, two rules make themselves manifest now for application. The one is of एकश्रुतिप्लुतात्संज्ञौ (I. 2. 33) causing एकश्रुति or monotony; the other causing प्लुतोऽक्षरत्वं by दूराद्भूते च (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

यच्चितुपरं छन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ यदानि ॥ यत्, हि, तु, परम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्निर्गतमित्येतदस्वरितत्वाम्नामुपसर्ते ॥ तिङिति वसतपव ॥ बत्परं द्विपरं तुपरं च तिङन्तं छन्दसि जानुसात्तं भवति ॥

56. A finite verb followed by यत् or हि or तु retains its accent in the Chhandas.

The anuvṛtti of आम्निर्गतं should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिङ् ॥ Thus with वत्परं we have:---गवां गोचदुवसजा बवाङ्गिरः ॥ The verb वदसुजा is the Imperfect (लृट्) 2nd person singular of वृद्ध् of Tudādi class. With हि we have, इन्द्रो वा वृषन्ति हि (Rig Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb वृषन्ति is the Present (लृट्) Plural of वृष् of Adādi class. The samprasāraṇa takes place because it belongs to शृङ्गादि class. With तु we have, आसयात्स्योमि तु ते ॥ By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with वत् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sūtra is, therefore, a *niyama* rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus जाये स्वा रोहावेहि ॥ Here रोहाव is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रुह् (रुह् + षप् + वत् = रोह +

भाद् + वच् III. 4. 92 = रोहाव the स् being elided, as लोद् is like लङ् III. 4. 85 and 99). The verb एहि is the 2nd Person Singular of the Imperative of the root इष्, preceded by the Particle भाद् ॥ Here in रोहाव एहि (=रोहाव भाद्हि), the verb रोहाव is followed by the Particle भा, and does not retain its accent. But for this rule, it would have retained its accent. Because एहि is a गत्यर्थ लोद् (VIII. 1. 51), रोहाव is another लोद् in connection with it, and therefore, by VIII. 1. 52 it would have retained its accent. But now it loses its accent because it is a तिङ् following after a non तिङ् word स्वः ॥ The visarga of स्वः is elided before र् by VIII. 3. 14, then the preceding ष is lengthened and we have स्वा (VI. 3. 111). Another reading is स्वा रोहावैहि ॥ It is a Vedic anomaly, the visarga is changed to व् ॥

चनचिद्विद्यगोत्रादितद्धिताच्चेडितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन, चित्, इव, गोत्र-
आदि, तद्धित, आच्चेडितेषु, अगतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन चित् इव गोत्रादि तद्धित आच्चेडित इत्येतेषु परतः अगतेरुत्तरं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

57. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by चन, चित्, इव, गोत्र &c, a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

Thus देवदत्तः पंचति चन; देवदत्तः पंचति चित्, देवदत्तः पंचति इव ॥ The list of Gotrādi words is given under sūtra VIII. 1. 27. Thus देवदत्त पंचति गोत्रम्, देवदत्तः पंचति ह्यवम्, देवदत्त पंचति प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrādi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

With a Taddhita affix, देवदत्तः पंचति कल्पम्, देवदत्तः पंचति रूपम् ॥ The examples should be given with anudatta Taddhita affixes, like रूपम्, कल्पम् (V. 3. 65 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent: as पंचतिरे इव (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as; देवदत्तः पंचति पंचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe देवदत्तः प्र पञ्चति चन ॥ The word गति in this sūtra as well as in सगतिरपि तिङ् (VIII. 1. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: शुक्लीकरोति चन, यत् काष्ठं शुक्लीकरोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णीकरोति ॥

According to others, throughout this Book Eighth, the word Gati means, the Upasarga Gati.

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादिषु च परतः तिङन्तमगतेः परं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

58. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (चा, ह, अह and एच् VIII.1. 24).

The च्वादि words are those mentioned in sūtra VIII. 1. 24. Thus देवदत्त पचति च खौरति च, देवदत्तः पचति वा खौरति वा, देवदत्त पचति ह खौरति ह, देवदत्तः पचति अह खौरत्यह, and देवदत्तः पचत्येव खौरत्येव ॥

But when preceded by a gati, we have देवदत्तः प्र पचति च प्र खौरति च ॥ Here the first verb retains its accent by virtue of the next sūtra, but the second verb loses its accent.

चवायोगे प्रथमा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, वा, योगे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगतेति पूर्वसूत्रे चानुकुटमित्यत्र नानुवर्त्तते । च वा इत्येताभ्यां योगे प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति ॥

59. The first finite verb only retains its accent in connection with च and वा ॥

The anuvṛitti of अगतेः which was drawn in the last sūtra, does not run into this. Thus गर्दभाञ्च कार्लवति, वीणां च श्रावयति ॥ गर्दभान् वा कार्लवति, वीणां वा श्रावयति ॥

The word योग in the sūtra indicates that the mere connection with the verb is meant, whether this connection takes place by adding these words च and वा, before the verb, or after the verb, is immaterial for the purposes of this sūtra, (not so in the last). The word प्रथमा shows that the first verb is governed by this rule and not the second.

हेति क्षियायाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, इति, क्षियायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति क्षियायां गन्धमानाद्याम् ॥

60. In connection with ह, the first verb retains its accent, when an offence against custom is reprimanded.

The word क्षिया means an error or mistake of duty, a breach of etiquette or a fault against good breeding.

Thus स्वयं ह रथेन वीर्ति १, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति 'He himself goes on a car, while he causes his Preceptor to trudge behind on foot'. स्वयं ह ओदनं मुहक्ते १, उपाध्यायं सकृन् पाययति 'Himself eats the rice, and makes the preceptor eat the gruel'. Here in both examples, the nighāta of the first verbs is prohibited. The verbs become svarita-pluta by VIII. 2. 104.

अहेति विनियोगे च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह, इति, वि नि योगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति विनियोगे गन्धमाने चराध्यात् क्षियायां च ॥

61. In connection with अह, the first verb retains its accent, when it refers to various commissions, (as well as when a breach of good manners is condemned).

The word विनियोग means sending a person to perform several commissions. The word च in the sūtra draws in the anuvṛitti of क्षिया also.

Thus एवं अह प्राप्तं गच्छ, एवं अह अरण्यं गच्छ ॥ So also when क्षिया is meant,

as स्वयमह रयेन आति ३, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति ॥ स्वयमहोरनं शुङ्क्ते ३, उपाध्यायं सक्तुम् पाययति ॥ The prohibition of *nighāta* and prolation are as in the last aphorism.

चाहलोपपत्वेत्यवधारणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, अह, लोपे, एव, इति, अवधारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलोपे अहलोपे च प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुशात्ता भवति एवेत्येतत्तदवधारणार्थं प्रयुज्यते ॥

62. When च and अह are elided, the first verb still retains its accent, when एव with the force of limitation, takes their place.

When does this लोप take place? Where the sense of च or अह is connoted by the sentence, but these words are not directly employed, there is then the elision of च and अह ॥ There the force of च is that of aggregation (सङ्ख्य), and of अह is that of 'only' (केवल). The च is elided when the agent is the same, and अह is elided when the agents are several.

Thus where च is elided:—देवस्त एव मामं गच्छतु, देवस्त एवारण्यं गच्छतु = मामं चारण्यं च गच्छतु ॥

So where अह is elided: as:—देवस्त एव मामं गच्छतु, यज्ञस्त एव अरण्यं गच्छतु = मामं केवलं, अरण्यं केवलं ॥

Why do we say अवधारणं 'when limitation is meant'? See देवस्तः क्वेव भोक्षते, देवस्तः क्वेव वाच्येप्यते ॥ The word एव here has the sense of 'never' 'an impossibility'. The first sentence means न क्वचिद् भोक्षते ॥ क्व + एव = क्वेव by पररूप (VI. 1. 94 Vārt).

चादिलोपे विभाषा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदि, लोपे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो नचवाहाद्वैवयुक्तइति सूत्रनिर्दिष्टा शुङ्क्ते; तेषां लोपे प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्नानुशात्ता भवति विभाषा ॥

63. When च, (वा, ह, अह and एव) are elided, the first verb optionally retains its accent.

Thus with च लोपः—हृद्भ्रं ग्रीहयो भवन्ति or भवन्ति, श्वेता गा आश्याय दुहन्ति ॥ Here भवन्ति optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when वा is elided, as:—ग्रीहिभि र्भोजेत or यजेत, यवे र्भोजेत ॥ So also with the remaining.

वैवावेति च छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वै वाव, इति, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैवाव ह्येतान्थां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्बिभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुशात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

64. Also in connection with वै and वाव, may optionally, in the Chhandas, the first verb retain its accent.

Thus अहर्ने देवानाम् आसीत् (or आसीत्), रात्रिसुराणाम् आसीत् ॥ इहस्पति वै देवानां पुरोहित आसीत् (or आसीत्), छण्डामर्कावसुराणां (Taittiriya Sanhita VI. 4. 10, 1, but with out the particle वै). अयं वाव हस्त आसीत् (or आसीत्), नेतर आसीत् ॥

वे has the force of स्फुट and क्षमा, and वाच that of प्रसिद्धि and स्फुट ॥

एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अन्याभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुसन्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

65. Also in connection with एक and अन्य, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one—the other').

Thus प्रजापिका जिन्वति (or जिन्वति), ऊर्ध्वमेकारक्षति ॥ तयोरन्वः विप्लवं स्तार्हति (or झृत्ति), अनममन्वो अभिष्ठाकशीति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

Why do we say समर्थाभ्यां 'having the same meaning'? See एको देवानु-पातिष्ठत् ॥ Here एक is a Numeral and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another'. The word समर्थ is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various meanings: while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य ॥ एकोऽप्यार्ये प्रधाने च प्रथमे केचले तथा । साधारणे समानेऽल्पे संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥

यद्वृत्ताभित्यम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, वृत्तात्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्तं, निघातप्रतिषेध इत्येव ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वयाकाम्ने वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. In connection with यद् in all its forms, the verb retains its accent always.

The anuvṛitti of प्रथमा and छन्दसि ceases. The prohibition of nighāta, which commenced with न हद् (VIII. 1. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्वृत्तं ॥ The word वृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kāsikā, उत्तर and उत्तम are not included, according to Patanjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किंवृत्तं in VIII. 1. 48.

Thus ओ शुद्धेर्के, ध भोजयति, वेन शुद्धेर्के, बले वसति, वत् कामास्ते जुहुर्मः (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) वरुणह वाहुर्वीति (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1.) यद् वाहुः पर्वते ॥ For the form वरुणह see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्वृत्तात्) and therefore requires that the verb should *im-mediate*ly follow it, yet in वरुणह वाहु वीति, the intervention of वाहुः does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pātanjali.

Vart:—Optionally when the sense is that of 'wheresoever' or 'whensoever'. The word वायाकाम्ने means वयेच्छं 'as one wishes', without regard of time or space. The *nighāta* is prohibited here also. As वच इव च न वजते हद् देववजन एव वजते ॥

पूजनात्पूजितमनुदासं काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजनात्, पूजितम्, अनु-दासम्, काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्य उत्तरपरं पूजितमनुदासं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मलोपश्च ॥

67. After a word denoting praise belonging to काष्ठादि class, the word whose praise is denoted, becomes aundâtta.

This refers to compounds, the first members of which are praise-denoting words. The word काष्ठादिभ्यः, is added to the sūtra from a Vārtika.

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, शारणाध्यापकः, शारणाभिरूपकः ॥

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः । अद्भुत । अद्भुताध्यापकः । अनुक्त । अनुक्ताध्यापकः । अद्भुत । अद्भुताध्यापकः । घोर । घोराध्यापकः । सुखः । सुखाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । स्वध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । द्यौः । द्यौरध्यापकः । द्यौः-भिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

Vdt.—The final *म्* should be elided in forming these words. The word शारणे is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like. घांसे गतः ॥ In such a case, there can be no compounding: hence the elision of *म्* is taught. This is the opinion of Vārtika—kāra Kātyāyana. According to Kāśikā, there is compounding under मद्भुत व्यंत्तकवि rule, and so *म्* is elided by the general rule of samāsa. This becoming of अनुशक्त takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact, it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is *finally* acute (VI. 1. 223) But there is no elision in शारणमध्यापकः &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vārtika 'मलोपश्च', this further fact is also denoted, where the case-affix is not employed and so the *म्* is not heard, there the second member becomes anudātta. When there is no compounding, there is no elision of *म्* as शारणमधीते, शारणमध्यापकः ॥

Though the word पूजन would have implied its correlative term पूजित, the specific mention of पूजित in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting पूजित should follow *immediately* after the word denoting पूजन ॥ In fact, this peculiar construction of the sūtra, is a jñāpaka of the existence of the following rule:—इह प्रकरणे पञ्चमी निर्देशेऽपि नानन्तर्यमाश्रीयते " In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it". This has been illustrated in the previous rule of अद्भुतान् नित्यम्, in explaining forms like अद्भुतं वायुर्वति &c.

Though the anuvṛitti of 'anudātta' was current, the express employment of this term in the sūtra indicates that the *prohibition* (of anudātta) which also was current, now ceases.

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhānta-Kaumudi, will give the view of later Grammarians:—The words काष्ठ &c, are all synonyms of अद्भुत, meaning *wonderful*, *prodigious*: and are words denoting *praise*. This is an aphorism appertaining to samāsa subject. In the examples the compounding takes place under the rule of Mayura-vyansakādi.

Vart:—The elision of व् should be mentioned. दाहणम् + अध्यापकः, in making the compound of these two words, the elision of the case affix, in this case व्, is natural. The vārtika, therefore, teaches nothing new, but only repeats this general rule in a particular form. This is the opinion of the authors of Kāśikā. But according to Kayyata, the commentator on the Great Bhāshya, this aphorism is not a samāsa rule: and the words दाहणम् &c, are adverbs not admitting of samāsa; and so the rule applies to these words when they are not compounded. There is no authority for holding these to be compounds under the Māyuravyansakādi class. Haradatta also says, had this been intended to be a samāsa rule, the word समासे would have been used in the sūtra and this is valid. There is no adhikāra of samāsa here, that could have caused samāsa and in this view, the vārtika मलोपश्च also becomes effective: had it been a samāsa rule, the vārtika would have been redundant.

1 काष्ठ, 2 दाहण, 3 अनाज्ञात, 4 वेद्य, 5 अनाज्ञात, 6 अनुज्ञात, 7 अपुत्र, 8 अयुत, 9 अनुक्त, 10 अनुक्त, 11 भूषा, 12 चौर, 13 सुख्य, 14 परम, 15 सु, 16 भक्ति, 17 कल्याण

सगतिरपि तिङ् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरगतिरपि पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः परं पूजितं तिङ्न्तमनुशासं भवति ॥

68. (After such words denoting praise) the finite verb (which is praised) becomes anudātta, even along with the Gati, if any, that may precede it.

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a gati or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs काष्ठं &c. Thus वत् काष्ठं पृच्छति, वत् काष्ठं प्रपृच्छति ॥ By VIII. 1. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काष्ठं, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. 1. 30 in connection with वत्; the present sūtra re-ordains the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. 1. 30.

The word सगति 'along with its Gati', indicates that the Gati even loses its accent. The word Gati here is restricted to Upasargas. Therefore not here वत् काष्ठं वृद्धी करोति, वत् काष्ठं कृष्णी करोति ॥

The word तिङ् is used in the sūtra to indicate that the words qualified by काष्ठं &c in the preceding sūtra, were non तिङ् words—i. e. were substantives. The rule of मलोपश्च of that sūtra, therefore, does not apply here.

कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सने, च, सुपि, अगोत्रादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पशविति निवृत्तम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङ्गिति वर्त्तते ॥ कुत्सने च सुबन्ते गोत्रादिवर्जिते परतः सगतिरपि तिङ् भगतिरप्यनुशासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाकुत्सने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ पूतिश्च आनुबन्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थमनुशासं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā सुपि कुत्सने क्रियाया मलोप इदोऽ तिङ्गिति चोक्तार्थे ।

पूतिश्च आनुबन्धो विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थम् ॥

69. A finite verb, along with its preceding Gati, if any, becomes anudātta, when a Noun, denoting the fault of the action, follows, with the exception of गोत्रादि &c.

The anuvṛitti of पशान् (VIII. 1. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛitti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पृच्छति पूति, प्रपृच्छति पूति, पृच्छति मिथ्या, प्रपृच्छति मिथ्या ॥

Why do we say कुस्तेन 'denoting the fault of the action'? See पृच्छति शो-
भनम् ॥

Why do we say सुवि 'a noun'? Observe पृच्छति किलङ्गति ॥

Why do we say with the exception of गोचम् &c. See पृच्छति गोचम्, पृच्छति
क्षुचम्, पृच्छति प्रवचनम् ॥

Vart: It should be mentioned that the 'fault' mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुस्तेन refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus पृच्छति पूतिर्वेदस्तः, प्रपृच्छति पूतिः ॥

Vart: It should be stated that पूति has an indicatory च् ॥ The effect of this is that the word पूति is finally acute, because of the indicatory च् ॥ The word पूति is not a क्तिच् formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पूतिरयम्; nor is it a word formed by क्तिच् affix, because this is not a संज्ञा word; therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by प्रातिपदिक स्वर (Phit I. 1) it will be end-acute. The *vartika*, therefore, indicates that when पूति causes the loss of accent of the verb, then it is end-acute, but in other cases it is acute on the beginning. According to Padamanjari, पूति is derived from पू by adding the Uṇādi affix तिच् diversely (Uṇ IV. 180), and is first acute.

Vart: A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पूति is end-acute. Thus पृच्छन्ति पूतिः, or पृच्छन्ति पूतिः, प्रपृच्छन्ति पूतिः or प्रपृच्छन्ति पूतिः ॥

Kṛikā. The following noun denoting fault must refer to the action. The elision of च् is intended only in the case of non-verbs, because it is so said by those of old. The word पूति has an indicatory च्, but it is optionally so when the verb is plural. The elision of च् mentioned above refers to the elision of च् in दारुणम्-अध्यापकः = दारुणाध्यापकः ॥ The words उक्तार्थम् mean आचार्यपरंपराकथित-प्रयोजनमेतदित्यर्थः ॥

गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥

गुक्तिः ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतो ऽनुवाचो भवति ॥

70. A Gati becomes unaccented, when followed by another Gati.

Thus अभ्युत्तरति, समुदीनयति, अभिसंपर्शो हरति ॥ Why do we say गतिः "a Gati becomes &c"? Observe देवदत्तः प्रपृच्छति ॥ Here देवदत्तः is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe अर्धो मन्त्रेतिन्न हरिभिर्वाहि मधूर रोमणिः ॥ Here आ is a Gati to the verb वाहि, the complete verb is आवाहि ॥ But as आ is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prātipadika मन्त्र, it retains its accent. Had the word गतौ not been used in the sūtra, this आ would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.

तिङ् चोदात्तवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्, च, उदात्तवति ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ गतिरिति वर्त्तते ॥ तिङन्ते उदात्तवति परतो गतिरनुदात्तो भवति ॥

71. A Gati becomes anudâtta, when followed by an accented finite verb.

The word गतिः is understood here. Thus वत् प्र पचति, वत् प्र करोति ॥

Why have we used the word तिङ् in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तवति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udâtta word, but only before udâtta verbs. Thus आ does not become anudâtta before मन्त्रैः in आ मन्त्रै र्निन्द्र इरिणि वाहि ॥ If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before verb only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term verb, and not to noun, like as the word father refers to its correlative term son and not nephew: and that, therefore, उदात्तवति must refer to the verb like वाहि and not to a noun like मन्त्रैः; then also we say that the employment of the term तिङ् is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a finite verb, and not a verbal root. So that though a verbal root be udâtta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङन्त) it is not udâtta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in वत् प्र करोति, the root कृ is anudâtta, but the तिङन्त form करोति is udâtta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तवति not been qualified by तिङ् ॥ For the maxim is वत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्राद्वन् तेषां सं प्रति गद्वुपसर्गसंज्ञे भवतः ॥ Therefore in a तिङन्त, the designation of गति is with regard to धातु or verbal root. Obj: If तिङ् is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आम् ending forms, like प्र पचतित्तराम् and प्रपचतित्तराम्, for these are not तिङन्त; but as a matter of fact, we find that प्र loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati प्र with the completed आम्न्त form पचतित्तराम् ॥ According to them, this प्र would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिङ् was not used in the sūtra, the form पचतित्तराम् being the second member of a compound, became anudâtta; and so प्र being followed by an anudâtta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in प्रपचतित्तराम् &c. Others compound the word ending in तरम् (पचतित्तर) with the Gati, and having formed प्रपचतित्तर, then add the affix आम् ॥ According to this view, the आम् accent debars all other accents, on the maxim, 'the accent of the last prevails' (सतिशब्द), and so प्र is anudâtta, not by this rule, but by अनुदात्तसर्वे परमेकवर्जे ॥ According to them the word is प्रपचतित्तराम् ॥ According to both of these views, this sūtra is not necessary for the purposes of प्रपचतित्तराम् &c. But there is a third view which makes this sūtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: गतिकारकोपपदानाम् कृत्तिः सद्यः समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते: "It should be

stated that Gatis, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination has been added to the latter". This maxim itself has been explained in two different ways, one saying that the compounding takes place with kṛit-formed words *only* before the addition of case-affixes ; but with words formed by Taddhita affixes, the compounding does not take place before a case affix has been added. The other view makes no such difference between kṛit-formed and non-kṛit formed words. This latter view is not necessary for our purposes. According to the first view, the Gati प्र can never be compounded with पचत्तित्पच् as it is not a सुबन्त ॥ So both प्र and पचत्तित्पच् having different accents, the present sūtra became necessary to cause the loss of accent of प्र ॥

Why have we used the word उदात्तवति ? See प्रँ पचति, प्रँ करोति ॥ Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. 1. 28, hence the Gati retains its accent.

आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितम्, पूर्वम्, अविद्यमानवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत्प्रवति, तस्मिन्वति बल्कार्थं तत्र भवति ॥

72. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word; and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्).

Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent vocative, which the first, taken as a पद्, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. As देवदत्त ! वैज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 is prevented: as, देवदत्त पचाति ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 is prevented, as देवदत्त तत्र (not ते) ग्रामः स्वप्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) ग्रामः स्वप् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb ; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb: as, यावद् देवदत्त पचति ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, though a Vocative may precede ज्ञातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्वे and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त ज्ञातु पचति ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, as आहो देवदत्त पचति, उताहो देवदत्त पचति, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50.

Why do we use the word 'as if' or **यत्** in the sūtra, instead of saying 'altogether'? In other words, why do we say "it is considered as if non-existent", instead of saying "it is considered altogether non-existent"? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in **आम् भो देवदत्त** the vocative **भो** is considered as one word (**एकान्तर**) for the purposes of separating **आम्** from the vocative **देवदत्त** under VIII. 1. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali; but the opinion of the author of Kāsikā is that **भो** would have been considered as **अविद्यमानवत्** but for VIII. 1. 73.

Why do we say 'a Vocative'? Observe **देवदत्तः पृच्छति ॥** Why do we say **पूर्वे** 'with regard to the subsequent word'? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in **देवदत्तः चक्षुः**, the vocative **देवदत्त** gets its accent by VI. 1. 193 also. In fact, the word **पूर्वे** connotes its correlative **पर** 'subsequent'; and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such *subsequent* term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in **देवदत्त ईष्यति**, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In **इमं मे गङ्गे यदुने सरस्वति यदुनि** the first vocative **गङ्गे** is considered as non-existent with regard to **यदुने**, and, therefore, **यदुने** is considered as following immediately after the pada **मे** and thus **यदुने** becomes *anudatta*, not because of **गङ्गे**, but because of **मे**; similarly **सरस्वति** and **यदुनि** are *anudatta*, not because of the preceding Vocative, but because of **मे** ॥ In other words, the intervention of the vocatives does not stop the action of **मे** ॥

नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आमन्त्रिते, समानाधिकरणे, सामान्य-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानवत्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः ॥ आमन्त्रितान्ते समानाधिकरणेषु परतः पूर्वनामन्त्रितान्तं सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवत्त्ववति ॥

73. A preceding vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus **इमे एङ्गुष्ठे, भाजवकञ्जदिलकाभ्राप्रक् ॥** The first vocative being considered as existing, second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the *vocative* subsequent'? Observe **देवदत्त ईष्यति** here the *verb* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition or *sमानाधिकरणे*? Observe **देवदत्त ईष्यति यज्ञदत्त**, here the word **ईष्यति** qualifies **यज्ञदत्त**, and is not in apposition with **देवदत्त**, and hence it retains its accent.

Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus अग्नये देवि सरस्वति इडे काव्ये विह्वये एतानि ते अग्नये नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is:— इडे खेऽ ऽविते सरस्वति प्रिये प्रेषसि महि विश्रुते, एतानि ते अग्नये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, विशेष-
वचने, बहुवचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोणाविद्यमानवस्ये प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते ॥ विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रितान्ते परतः पूर्वोणामन्त्रितं बहुवचनान्तं विभाषितमविद्यमानवद्भवति ॥

74. When the preceding Vocative is in the Plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

This ordains option, where the last sūtra would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus देवाः शरण्याः or देवा शरण्याः ॥ आह्वाना वैशाकरणाः or आह्वाना वैशाकरणाः ॥

The anuvṛtti of सामान्यवचनम् is understood here; the second vocative, therefore, must be a विशेषवचन, as being the correlative of the former: where is then the necessity of employing the word विशेषवचने in the sūtra? This word is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision only.

Why do we say 'in the plural number'? Observe माणवक इदिलक ॥ No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is *always* considered as existent and so rule VIII. 1. 73 applies.

The sūtras 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pāṇini are:—73. नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे; 74. सामान्यवचने विभाषितं विशेषवचने (i. e. 73. The preceding Vocative is not considered as non-existent, if the subsequent word is a Vocative in apposition with it. 74. Optionally so, if the preceding vocative is a general term and the subsequent vocative is a particular term). Patanjali made the amendment by adding सामान्यवचने to 73 also, and the author of Kāśikā has added बहुवचनम् to 74 from the commentary of Patanjali and has omitted सामान्यवचनम् from it: though he reads its anuvṛtti.



अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वत्र, अ-सिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्याधिकार आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्येवं तद्दे-
वितम्बम् । तत्र देवं सपावसन्नाध्यायानुक्तान्ता एतस्वामये पादोऽसिद्धो भवति । इत उत्तरं चोत्तरो-
त्तरो षोडशः पूर्वत्रपूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति । असिद्धवद्वति । सिद्धकार्ये न करोति इति अर्थः ॥ तदेतदसिद्धवचनं
आदिश्लक्षणाप्रसिद्धेभार्ये उल्लेखलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥

1. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra or governing rule, and extends upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter is to be understood as non-existent, with regard to the preceding rule. With regard to whatever has been taught in the preceding Seven Books and a quarter, the rules contained in these three last chapters are considered as *asiddha*. And further, in these three chapters, a subsequent rule is, as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned. The word असिद्धम् = असिद्धवद्वति, सिद्धकार्ये न करोति ॥ The rule is "as if non-effective, does not produce the operation of a siddha or effective rule". This rule of non-effectiveness is for the sake of prohibiting the operation of an *ādeśa* rule, and establishing the operation of an *utsarga* or general rule. Thus अस्मा उद्वः इा अन्वः इा आनन्व, अस्मा आदित्त्वः ॥ In all these, the elision of व् and द् by VIII. 3. 19, being considered as not to have taken effect, there is no further sandhi, and आ + उ does not give rise to गुणा, nor आ + अ = आ ॥ In fact, for the purposes of the application of आद्वयुणः rule of VI. 1. 87, or the दीर्घ rule of VI. 1. 101, the rule VIII. 3. 19 is considered as not to have taken effect at all.

Similarly अद्वयै, अद्वयान्, अद्वयिन् from अद्वस् ॥ Thus अद्वस् + के = अद्व + के (VII. 2. 102 अ being substituted for the final द्, which again merges in the

preceding अ VI. 1. 97)=अनु + ऊँ (VIII. 2. 80. उ being substituted for अ, and न् for इ of अनु). Now the substitution of स्तै for ऊँ takes place only after Pronouns ending in अ; but अनु is a pronoun ending in उ, so this स्तै (VII. 1. 14) should not take place. The present sūtra helps us out of this difficulty, and the change of अ into उ by VIII. 2. 80 is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 14.

शुष्किका शुष्कजङ्घा च क्षामिमानौजडत्तया ।
मतेर्वस्त्रे मलां जप्तं, शुडलिण्मानिदर्शनम् ॥

The forms शुष्किका, शुष्कजङ्घा, क्षामिमान्, औजडत्, and शुडलिण्मान् illustrate this rule excellently.

(1) शुष्किका ॥ To the root शुष् we add the Nishṭhā त, as शुष् + त = शुष् + क (त changed to क by VIII. 2. 51) = शुष्क ॥ Add the feminine affix टाप् and we have शुष्का ॥ Add to this the affix क (V. 3. 70, 73), as शुष्का + क = शुष्काक, the feminine of which with ङप् will be शुष्कका (the shortening taking place by VII. 4. 13). Now अ is changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 and we have शुष्किका ॥ Now rule VII. 3. 46 makes this इ substitution optional, when a क precedes the अ, as is the case here: and that rule would require the alternative form शुष्कका ॥ But there is no such alternative form, because the क of शुष्क was the substitute of त by VIII. 2. 51, which is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of VII. 3. 46.

(2) शुष्कजङ्घा ॥ Here rule VI. 3. 37 would have required the form to be शुष्काजङ्घा like मन्त्रिकाकल्पा; there being no पुन-वद-bhāva when there is a penultimate क ॥ But the क in शुष्का being the result of VIII. 2. 51 is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes of VI. 3. 37.

(3) क्षामिमान् ॥ This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix मत्तुप् to the Patronymic word क्षामिः or to the noun क्षामिन् [क्षाम-स्थापत्यं = क्षामिः, or क्षामोऽस्यास्तीति = क्षामिन्] ॥ The word क्षाम is formed by adding the Nishṭhā त to the root क्षे, as क्षे + त = क्षा + त (VI. 1. 45) = क्षाम (the त being changed to म by VIII. 2. 53). Now this म is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of म of मत् to च, when मत् is added to a word having a penultimate म, as in क्षामिवात् ॥ Therefore we have क्षामिमान् and not क्षामिवात् ॥

(4) औजडत् ॥ This is the Aorist third person singular of the Derivative root औडि, from the Past-Participle of वह् ॥ Thus वह् + त = ऊढ (VI. 1. 15). Add to it लिच् in the sense of समाख्यन् (III. 1, 26): and then form its लुङ् ॥ The लुङ् is formed by adding चङ् (III. 1. 48), before which the stem is reduplicated (VI. 1. 11). In reduplicating, all the rules that went before in forming ऊढ are considered *asiddha*; viz. the rule by which ह was changed to उ (as वह् + त = उह् + त = उह् + त VIII. 1. 31), the rule by which त was changed to ध (उह् + त = उह् + ध VIII. 1.

40), the rule by which व् was changed to व्ह (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first व्ह was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as व्ह + व्ह = व + व्ह = व्ह VI. 3. 111). The elision of व्हि before वि being considered sthānavat, we reduplicate हत; as ऊहलव + चह् + त् = ऊहलवत् (VII. 4. 60) = ऊहलवत् (VII. 4. 62) = ऊहलवत् (VIII. 4. 54). There is no व्ह added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of अनप्लोपे of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes औजवत् ॥ The form औजिवत् is from व्हि ending in the affix क्तिन् ॥

(5) गुहलिष्मात् ॥ This is formed by adding मत्तुप् to the word गुहलिष्, which is formed by क्तिप् (गुहं लोढि) Here also the म of मत्तुप् is not changed into व् by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of ह् to व्ह (VIII. 1. 3), and again of व्ह to व्ह् are considered asiddha.

The rules of interpretation, however, contained in the previous part will apply to this part also; because such rules cannot be considered 'prior' or पूर्व; for they become operative then only when occasion requires to apply them. The maxim which governs such rules is कार्यकाले हि संज्ञा परिभाषत् ॥ The rules, therefore, which are exhibited here in the sixth case such as VIII. 2. 23, or the seventh case, as VIII. 2. 26, or the fifth case, as VIII. 2. 27, should be interpreted in accordance with the sūtras षष्ठी स्थाने योगा, तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्व, तस्मादिति उत्तरस्व ॥

But with regard to the paribhāshā विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्ये, the above will not hold good. For, by the very fact, that a subsequent rule in these chapters, is held to be asiddha, with regard to the prior, there cannot arise any conflict of two rules of equal force with regard to them. And it is only where there is such a conflict, that the above rule of interpretation applies. This being so, in विस्कार्यव, भवगोर्यव formed by ष्वत् (III. 1. 124) the guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 86 is not debarred by the हर्षि rule VIII.2. 77, because there is no conflict between guṇa-rule VII. 3. 86 and the dirgha-rule VIII. 2. 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former.

But though the विप्रतिषेध rule does not apply in these chapters; yet an apavāda rule here even, does over-ride an utsarga rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an apavāda rule would be useless. The apavāda rule is therefore, not considered asiddha. Thus the utsarga rule ह्रस्वः (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavāda rule शर्षितोषः (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have शोष्वा, शोष्वा (डुह् + त्श्च = शोष् + त्श्च) ॥

नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्धिषु कृति ॥ २ ॥ यदानि ॥ न लोपः, सुप्-स्वर-संज्ञा-तुक्-धिषु, कृति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नलोपः पूर्ववासिञो भवति सुभिधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ तुग्धिषौ च कृति । विधिषाम्बोव प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यमानः स्वरसंज्ञातुक्ता विधेवस्थात्तौ कर्मषष्ठीयुक्तैर्भाषसाधनौ ऽभिसंबध्यते । सुप्ता तु संबन्धसामान्यवचनषष्ठ्यन्तेन कर्मसाधनः । तेन सुप्ः स्थाने यो विधिः सुप्ति च परभूते सर्वोक्तौ सुभिधिरिति सर्ववासिञ्जत्वं भवति ॥

2. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment त् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as सुधिविधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि तुविधि is that of ordaining the existence of something: e.g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when न् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुधिविधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुधिविधि:—As राजामिः, तक्षमिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस् by VII. 1. 9. So also राजभ्यान्, तक्षभ्यां, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्यां by सुपिच (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103): as in नराभ्यां and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

(2) स्वरविधि:—As राजवती and not राजवती ॥ For the elision of न् being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in अवती but न्वती ॥ Similarly in पञ्चार्धन् and द्वाद्वार्धन्, the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not become ādy-udatta by VI. 2. 90. Similarly पञ्चवीची: the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word राजन् is first acute, as it is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156). राजवती is formed by adding ङीप् to the नतुप् ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पञ्चार्धन् is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of पञ्चन्-1-अर्धे, and when न् is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in अ and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) संज्ञाविधि:—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, द्वाद्व ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and द्वाद्व are still called shash though they no longer end in न् (ष्णान्ता षद् I. 1. 24). Being called षष्, they do not take षप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra (संज्ञा ग्रहणानर्थक्यं च नमिंसंस्वालोपस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षद्). Thus without its having the name of षद् there would be no elision of जस् and क्षस्, without such elision, there is no pada sañjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking

plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and द्वाञ् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when अस् and न् are elided, the words end in ञ् and require टाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षद् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra ? There are two views as regard definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations ; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim अयोरेवो संज्ञापदिभाषन् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापदिभाषन् "Sanjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations." In the first view, the षद् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding अस् and द्वास् and for prohibiting टाप् ॥ Hence thus sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षद् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding अस् and द्वास्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

(4) तुम्बिधिः—Thus वृषहन्शां, वृषहभिः ॥ On account of the elision of न् being asiddha, the तुक् augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. (इत्स्वस्व पिति कृति तुक्) ॥

Some hold that तुक् need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim समिपात लक्षणो विधिरनिविचं तद्विघातस्य "That which is taught in a rule, the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Now the elision of न् of वृषहन् took place because of the case affix शां, this elision cannot be the cause of adding तुक् ॥ Or the तुक् being a बहिर्ङ्ग operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न् ॥ This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of तुक् in this sūtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i. e. they are anitya.

Why do we say before a Kṛt-affix ? Observe वृषहच्छम, वृषहच्छाया ॥ Here तुक् is added by VI. 1. 73.

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 &c would be asiddha by the

general rule VIII. 2. 1; the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of **ञ्** is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते (राजञ् + क्यच् + ते = राज + च + ते = राजीयते III. 1. 8, VII. 4. 33). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25) and राज्ञश्च there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101).

न मु ने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, मु, ने, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभावो नामाये कर्त्तव्ये नासिद्धो भवति किं तर्हि सिद्ध एव ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एकादेशस्वरान्तरङ्गः सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ संयोगान्तस्य लोपो रो इत्ये सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ सिञ्जलोप एकादेशो सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ निहादेशः षल्यस्वरप्रत्ययविधीषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ प्लुतविकारस्तु ग्विधौ छे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ह्युत्वं छुटि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अभ्यासजइत्यचलं एत्वतुकोः सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ द्विर्वचने परसवर्णस्य सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पराधिकारबोद्धस्य इत्यनस्य इत्यनस्य नानासिकछत्वानि सिद्धानि वक्तव्यानि ॥

3. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of **मु** for the **दस्** of the Pronoun **अदस्**, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending **ना** ॥

The existence of **हु** is not considered uneffected when there is to be added **ना** ॥ On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus **हु** being considered as siddha, **अहु** gets the designation of **षि** by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, **अहुना** ॥ Had the **हु** been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no **ना** added. But when **ना** had been added, then the **हु** being asiddha, **अहु** is considered to be as **अइ** ending in **अ**, and this **अ** would require lengthening by **हुषि च** VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long **आ** the **इ** of **अहु** remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) **हु** is siddha when **ना** is to be added, (2) **हु** is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when **ना** is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो वत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्त्तव्ये शुभावो नासिद्धः "the **हु** is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when **ना** followed". From this, it would follow by implication that **हु** must be considered valid for the purposes of नामाच् itself. So **हु** being always siddha, **ना** is added: and there is no lengthening.

Vārt.—That ekādeśa accent which is antaranga, should be considered as siddha. What is the necessity of this vārtika? In order to regulate the accents of 1. अद्, 2. आद्, 3. आद् substitutions of ए, ऐ and औ; 4. the accent of

ekādeśa substitutes, 5. the accent of the चतु formed words, 6. for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all syllables of a word are anudātta except one, and 7. for the purposes of VIII. 1. 28, by which all syllables become anudātta.

Thus (1) let us take अच् first. वृक्षे is finally acute by Phiṭ I. 1. The locative of this is वृक्ष+ङि (anudātta III. 1. 3) = वृक्षे (ए is udātta VIII. 2. 5). Now combine वृक्षे + इवच् = वृक्षेच् + इवच् = वृक्षे इवच् ॥ So also वृक्ष इवच् ॥ The udātta ekādeśa ई must be considered as *siddha*, so that the अच् substitute of ए should also become udātta. (2) आचः As कुमारो इवच् ॥ Here also आ is udātta for similar reasons. कुमारी + ऊ = कुमारी + आ + ए (VII. 3. 112) = कुमारच् + आ + ए = कुमारच् + आ + ए (VI. 1. 174) = कुमारच् + ऐ (VI. 2. 90) = कुमारौ (VIII. 2. 5). The ऐ is udātta and its आच् substitute will also be udātta. How do you give this example? This example is then valid, when by VI. 1. 174, first the affix आ is made udātta, then this आ (आच् VII. 3. 112) augment is added to ऊ, and then (आ + ए) there is vṛiddhi ऐ; and then कुमारच् + ऐ = कुमारौ ॥ But if the order be reversed and आ + ए be first combined into ऐ, and then this ऐ be made udātta by VI. 1. 174, then there would be no necessity of this vārtika for the purposes of आच् ॥ The word कुमारौ is end-acute by Phiṭ accent (Phiṭ I. 1). Add to it ङीच् in the feminine (IV. 1. 20), as कुमारौ + ङीच् = कुमार + ङीच् (अ is elided by VI. 4. 148) = कुमार + ङीच् (VI. 1. 161) = कुमारी ॥

(3) आच्. As वृक्षाविर्वच् or वृक्षाविर्वच्, for the same reasons as above [वृक्षे + ओ (anudātta) = वृक्षौ VIII. 2. 5, वृक्षौ + इवच्].

(4) एकादेश accent. As गाङ्गे उप्ये ॥ Here गाङ्गे + इ = गाङ्गे ॥ The word गाङ्ग is formed by अच् affix (गंगाया इवच्) and is end-acute. The ekādeśa ए is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This udātta accent will remain valid: so that when for ए + अ there is pūrva-rūpa-ekādeśa by VI. 1. 109, this ekādeśa ए will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word अचर्ये is a प्रादि compound, आपोऽनुगतं = अचर्यं ॥ Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent: but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) चतु - accent. As तुवती, तुवते ॥ Here in तुव + च + चतु, the affix च is udātta, and चतु is anudātta. The ekādeśa अ will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa - udātta should be considered valid for the purposes of the rule VI. 1. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udātta. Thus तुवच् + ईच् = तुवती, तुवच् + ए = तुवते ॥ The prohibition अनुत्तः in VI. 1. 173 is a jñāpaka or indicator of the fact, that the ekādeśa accent should be considered *siddha*, in the accent of the चतु, because without this ekādeśa accent, there is no ङाच् ending word with तुव which is antodātta.

(6) एकाननुशासः accent. As तुवन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥ Here in तुव + च + अन्ति (VI. 1. 186) the ekādeśa अ is udātta by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekādeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudātta, as तुवन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥

(7) सर्वाङ्गान्तः accent. As ब्राह्मणास्तुवन्ति, ब्राह्मणा लिखन्ति ॥ Here the ekādes'a-accent of तुवन्ति and लिखन्ति being valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudātta.

The word antaranga is used in the vārtika to indicate that the Bahiranga ekādes'a accent will not be siddha. Thus पचतीति and प्रपचतीति, where the word ईति is first acute, as it is an Indeclinable. And सोमसुत् पचतीति ॥ The accent of पचति + इति = पचतीति is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādes'a accent of long ई has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahiranga. This bahiranga ekādes'a accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sūtras. Thus sūtra VIII. 1. 71. requires that the gati should be unaccented before an accented verb: but ऋ does not lose its accent, as पचतीति is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the ई of स्त्री is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudātta by VIII. 1. 28.

Vart.—The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing रु into ङ ॥ What is the necessity of this vārtika? Observe हरिवः मेदिनं त्या ॥ The word हरिवः is formed by मनुष्य affix हरयोऽस्य सन्ति = हरि + मन् ॥ Now by VIII. 2. 15 the म is changed to व, as हरि + वन् or हरिवन्; add सु (Voc.Sg.) as हरिवन् + सु, then add लुक् augment, as हरिवन् + सु ॥ Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरिवन् ॥ Now by VIII. 3. 1. the final न् is changed to र्, and we have हरिवर्, the र् would be changed to ङ by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this र् is followed by न, a ह्रस्व letter. But if such elision be considered asiddha, then र् is considered not to be followed by ह्रस्व letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

Vart.—When ekādes'a is to be done, the elision of सिच् is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलावीन् and अपावीन् ॥ Here the सिच् is elided by इट ईदि (VIII. 2. 28.) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dirgha single substitution of ई for इ + ई as अलाङ् + इ + वीन् = अलाङ् + इ + ० + ईन् = अलावीन् ॥

Vart.—The substitute of the Nishṭhā affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of स्र to ष, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) इट् augment. As (1) वृक्षः, वृक्षवान् ॥ The root is ओन्नश्चु (VI. 11) the indicatory ओ shows that the nishṭhā स्र is changed to न (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭhā substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to ष, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for न् would have been still considered as स्र or a ह्रस्व letter. The equation is as follows:—न्नश्च + त = वृक्षश्च + त (VI. 1. 16) = वृक्षश्च + न (VIII. 2. 45) = वृक्ष + न (VIII. 2. 29) = वृक्ष् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = वृक्षः (VIII. 4. 1) The ष्च is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 30, by considering न as asiddha and therefore equal to स्र or a ह्रस्व letter. Thus it will be seen that this न is शिसञ्च for the purposes of

rule VIII. 2. 30, but it is सिद्ध only for the purposes of rule VIII. 2. 36.

As regards the other three cases, viz, accent, affix and इद् augment, the one word क्षीब्, will illustrate them all. The irregular formation of this word is variously explained. It is formed by "nipâtana" under VIII. 2. 55. It is the Past Participle of the root क्षीब्, thus evolved क्षीब् + इद् + त = क्षीब् + इ + त = क्षीब् + झ (इत् being elided, this is the anomaly) = क्षीब् ॥ Here the elision of इत् is considered as valid and siddha, and therefore, क्षीब् is considered as a word of two syllables, for the purposes of accent, under rule निष्ठाच्च श्रयनान् (VI. 1. 205). Had the lopâdeśa of इत् been considered asiddha, the word would have been considered as if of three syllables, and that rule of *accent* would not have applied.

Similarly क्षीवेन तरति = क्षीबिक formed by छत् (IV. 4. 7) which *affix* is added, because it is considered a word of *two* syllables, the elision of इत् being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

Similarly क्षीब् may be considered to have been formed by eliding the त्; as क्षीब् + त = क्षीब् + झ ॥ In this view of its formation, the augment इद् is not added, because the lopa of त् is considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of इद् augment. In the opinion of Patanjali, the words इद् विधि may well be omitted from the vârtika, for इद् being a *portion* of a प्रत्यय, the word प्रत्ययविधि would include इद्-विधि also.

Vart:—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to तुक् augment before the letter छ ॥ Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words अग्ने and पदो assume the forms अग्नाइद्, and पदाइड ॥ These इ and ड are pluta-vikâras. As अग्नाइ इच्छन् ॥ पदाइ उच्छन् ॥ Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory तुक् augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional तुक् under VI. 1. 76.

Vart:—The ष and palatal change should be considered siddha and valid before छुद् (VIII. 3. 29). The root ह्युतिर् क्षरणे (I. 41) is read as beginning with a ष, which is changed to छ because of the subsequent च by VIII. 4. 40. This is not considered asiddha. Had it been so, there would come छुद् augment by VIII. 3. 29, in अद् ह्युतोति, रद् ह्युतोति ॥ The words अद् and रद् are अद् and रद् formed from the roots अदति and रदति by किवप् ॥

Why is the root ह्युतिर् considered to begin with ह् and not with ष as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with ष originally, we could not get the form मधुक् which would have been मधुद् ॥ The form मधुक् is thus evolved. Thus मधु ह्युतोति = मधुह्युत् by adding किवप् ॥ From मधुह्युत् we form a Derivative root in णिच् in the sense of मधुह्युत्तमाचष्टे = मधुह्युत्तमि ॥ Add again किवप् to this Derivative root मधुणि, the णिच् will be elided, and we have मधुह्युत्, then ह् (which represents ह्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and छ is elided, because it is at the

end of a conjunct letter final in a pada (VIII. 2. 23), and thus there remains मधुच्, and च् is changed to क् (VIII. 2. 30) we have मधुक् ॥ Had the root been चक्रादि, then this च् could not be elided, and so we should elide only the final च् and ह् and the form would be मधुच् which would be changed to च् and then to ह् and we should get मधुह् which is not desired.

Vart:—The जश् and चश् substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of ए change (VI. 4. 120) and तुक् augment. Thus बभणतुः and बभणुः ॥ Here the जश् change of न, to ब in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनदेशादि root and the Perfect would be भेणतुः and भेणुः ॥ Similarly from छिद् we have चिच्छिञ्जसति, and from उच्छ्र, उच्छिच्छ्रवति ॥ In the latter, the second syllable छिच् of उच्छिच् (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च for छ been considered asid dha, there would not have been तुक् augment by छे च (VI. 1. 73)

Vart:—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As सश्च्यन्ता, सश्च्यन्ता, चश्चोक्तम्, चश्चोक्तम् ॥ In सश्च्यन्ता &c the च् is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvâra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the परस्परम् change been asid dha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

Vart:—If there be the adhikâra of the word 'pada' in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. लश् the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2. ढश् the change into ढ (VIII. 2. 31), 3. घश् the change in to घ (VIII. 2. 33), 4. नश् the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. हश् the change to ह (VIII. 2. 75), 6. बश् the change to ब (VIII. 3. 85), 7. ञश् the change to ञ (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunâsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. छश् the change to छ (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. गलो गलः ; गतगरः ॥ 2. श्लोधा श्लोधा ॥ 3. श्लोधाश्लोधा ॥ 4. नुनो नुनः or नुनो नुनः ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनद् अभिनत् This is लङ् second person singular of भिद्, the स् of सिच् is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final त् changed optionally to ह् by VIII. 2. 74. The न is the vikarana स्नम् ॥ 6. मातुः स्वसा मातुः स्वसा or मातुः स्वसा, मातुः स्वसा, 7. माषशापाणि माषशापाणि or माषशापानि माषशापानि ॥ 8. वाह् नयनम् वाह् नयनम् or वाग्नयनम् वाग्नयनम् ॥ 9. वाक् च्छयनं वाक् च्छयनं or वाक्छयनं वाक्छयनं ॥

The लश् &c, changes being all optional, had the changes been considered asid dha, we would have got the following double forms also गतगल, गलोगतः which are not desired.

All these can be explained by dividing the sūtra न दु ने into two. The first being न, and this negative will prohibit all asid dha-ness mentioned in the

preceding vārtikas. The second sūtra would be वृत्ते, and we would here draw in the anuvṛitti of न from the preceding.

उदात्तस्वरितयोर्धनः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितयोः,
यणः, स्वरितः, अनुदात्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तयणः स्वरितयणश्च परत्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरित आदेशो भवति ॥

4. A svarita vowel is the substitute of an anudāṭṭa vowel, when the latter follows after such a semi-vowel, which has replaced an udāṭṭa or a svarita vowel.

An unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when it comes after a यण् (semi-vowel), which यण् itself has come in the room of a vowel which was acute or svarita once.

Let us first take the vowel following an udāṭṭa yan. Thus कुमारी, कुमारीः ॥ The word कुमारी is acutely accented on the final, because the long ई (दीर्घ) replaces अ of कुमार (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel य् is substituted in the room of this acute ई; the anudāṭṭa ओ and ङः become svarita after such a य् ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita-yaṇ. The words सकृत्पूर्व and खलपूर्व are finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are खलपूर्व + इ = खलपूर्वि, and सकृत्पूर्व by VI. 4. 83. This इ is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute ऊ, therefore, it is udāṭṭa-yaṇ. After this udāṭṭa-yaṇ, the anudāṭṭa इ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when खलपूर्वि + आर्षा and सकृत्पूर्वि + आर्षा are combined by sandhi, this svarita इ is changed to य्; it is, therefore, a svarita-yaṇ. The unaccented आ will become svarita, after this svarita-yaṇ. As खलपूर्व्याशा and सकृत्पूर्व्याशा ॥ The word आशा is finally acute and consequently आ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj :—Here an objector may say : that the svarita accent on इ in खलपूर्वि is by this very sūtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of यण् ādeśa of VI. 4. 83. How can then the य् substituted for this इ be considered as svarita-yaṇ ?

Ans :—This is considered as siddha by āśraya. (आश्रयान् सिद्धयम्) ॥

Obj :—If this be so, then उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (VIII. 4. 66) should also be considered as siddha : and we should have svarita in वृष्याशा &c also. For the word वृषि is first-acute by Phit II. 3. Therefore षि is svarita by VIII. 4. 66. The य् is svarita yaṇ, the anudāṭṭa आ after this should become svarita according this view, but this is not so.

Ans :—To avoid this difficulty, we have the following.

Vārti :—यणस्वरो यणदेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ “The यण् accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of यण् substitution”.

Some say, that even in such cases as *दृष्याशा* the above rule applies, and that the unaccented vowel becomes svarita, if it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel. They quote the following from Taittiriya śākhā :—*यास्ते विश्वाः सन्धिः सन्यग्ने*, where the *अ* of *अग्ने* is pronounced as svarita. So also in the Brāhmaṇa portion as : *दृष्याशयति* the *आ* is read as svarita. But according to Kātyayana and Patanjali, the unaccented vowel does not become svarita by this sūtra, when it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel.

To get rid of these anomalies, the Māhābhāṣya proposes several alternatives, two of which will be mentioned here. The first proposal is to divide this composite sūtra into two parts : (1) *उदात्तयणः परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति* "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita when it follows after an udātta-yaṇ". (2) *स्वरितयणश्च परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति* "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when following a svarita yaṇ" and in this second sūtra, we shall read the anuvṛitti of udātta-yaṇ from the preceding half. So that this half will mean : *उदात्तयण इत्येवं यो निर्वृत्तः स्वरितः, तस्य यणः परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति ॥* The svarita must have been obtained by the application of the first half of this sūtra and *this* svarita should be changed to यण्, which would change the anudātta into svarita. So that the *स्वरित यणः* means this *particular* svarita obtained by the application of this very sūtra.

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sūtra at all. The svarita in *सकृत्स्व्याशा* would then be explained by udātta-yanah rule. *सकृत्स्व् + इ + आशा = सकृत्स्व् + श् + आशा ॥* Here *श्* is udātta-yaṇ. This will cause *आ* to become svarita. The intervening svarita *श्* is considered as not existing for the purposes of accent *स्वरविधौष्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् ॥* Nor is this *श्* to be considered as sthāni-vad to *इ* by I. 1. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as sthānivat by I. 1. 58.

Why do we say "of udātta and svarita"? Observe *देर्षी + आर्षा = देर्षाशा*, so also *शाङ्गरव्याशा ॥* Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented *ई*, and is अनुदात्त यण् ॥ These words are first acute owing to *नित्* accent (IV. 1. 73).

Why do we say "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita"? Observe *कुमार्यञ्च, किशोर्यञ्च ॥* The word *अञ्च* is acutely accented on the first by *नित्* accent. (VI. 1. 193).

एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादेशः, उदात्तेन, उदात्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तेन सहानुदात्तस्य च एकादेशः स उदात्तो भवति ॥

5. The single substitute of an unaccented with an udātta vowel is udātta.

The word "of an anudātta" is understood here. An unaccented vowel,

which combined with the preceding udâta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udâta. Thus for the udâta इ of अग्नि^३ and for the case-ending औ which is anudâta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udâta according to the present sūtra, as अग्नी^३ ॥ Similarly वार्त्त, वृक्षैः^३ प्रक्षैः^३ ॥

Why do we say "with udâta vowel"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति ॥ Here पच् + चाप् + अन्ति = पँच् + अ + अन्ति । Here चाप् is anudâta by III. 1. 4, so also अन्ति by VI. 1. 186. The ekâdeśa of these two non-accented अ will be anudâta. In forming this para-rūpa ekâdeśa by VI. 1. 97, the svarita of the अ of चाप् caused by VIII. 4. 66 is considered as invalid or asiddha.

Other examples are क्व वोऽश्वाः (Rig. V. 61. 2) and क्वावरं मरुतः ॥ The word वः is anudâta by VIII. 1. 21. read with VIII. 1. 18. The word अँश्वः is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding क्वन्त् to अश् (Uṇ. I. 151). The श् of वस् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to ञ् (VI. 1. 113). Thus वो ऽश्व ॥ Here अ becomes pūrva-rūpa by VI. 1. 109, which is udâta. क्व is formed from क्विच् by अन् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185). The word अँश्वर is acutely accented on the first by the Phiṭ II. 6. The single long substitute is udâta.

स्वरितो वा ऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितः, वा, अनुदात्ते, पदादौ ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ते ऽपरादौ ऽदानेन सह च एकादेशः स स्वरितो वा भवत्युदात्तो वा ॥

6. The single substitute of an unaccented vowel, standing at the beginning of a word, with an udâta vowel, may optionally be svarita or udâta.

Thus सु + अस्थितः = सूस्थितः or स्स्थितः ; वि + ईक्षते = वीक्षते or वीक्षते; वसुकः + असि = वसुकोऽसि or वसुकोऽसि ॥ Here the word सु is a Karmapravachaniya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्रादिसमास with the Past Participle, the Avayayibhāva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudâta. Thus the udâta ई of सु is compounded with the anudâta वृ of अस्थितः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekâdeśa is optionally svarita. In वीक्षते and वसुकोऽसि also the verbs ईक्षते and असि lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so ई and अ become anudâta, which when compounded with वि and वसुक्ता become optionally svarita.

The word स्वरितः is employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra may have well stood as वाऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ In this form of the sūtra, the udâta of the preceding sūtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudâta. Udâta being optional, in the other alternative, where there will not be udâta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.

Why do we say "anudatta beginning"? Observe देवदत्तोऽन ॥ Here देव begins with udatta and not anudatta, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say "beginning of a word"? Observe वृक्षैः, वृक्षाः, वृक्षैः and वृक्षाः, where anudatta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhāshā; in this wise. There will necessarily be svarita (1) where a long ई is the single substitute of (इ+इ) or of two short इ, (2) where there is pūrva-rupa by the application of एरूपदान्तात् भवति (VI. 1. 109). There will be udatta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि+इवन्=वीदन् in वीदुं उद्योतिर्द्वंद्वे, the long ई is substituted for two short इ's. This substitution of a long ई for two short इ's is technically called प्रश्लेष ॥ Where there is Pras'lesha, the long ई is necessarily svarita. Similarly when there is अभिनिहतसन्धिः i. e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. 1. 109. Thus तेऽवन्, सोऽग्रामागान् ॥ So also where there is क्षेप्रः सन्धिः i. e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udatta or svarita vowel, as अन्धामि ॥ The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātiśākhya: इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षेप्रानिनिहतेषु च ॥ But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for इ+ई (one of the इ's being long), there it must always be acute. As अस्य क्षोको द्वितीयते (Rig. 1. 190. 4). The words शिवि+ईद्वे are compounded into शिवीद्वे ॥ The word शिवि Locative singular is finally acute by VI. 1. 171. ईद्वे is from the Divādi root इङ् गतौ, and has lost its accent by VIII. 1. 28.

नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, प्रातिपदिक, अन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकस्य परस्य योन्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गो नलोपप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The न् at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17), is elided.

The word परस्य 'of a Pada' is understood in this sūtra. Thus राज्ञ, राज्ञ्यान्, राज्ञिः, राज्ञता, राज्ञतरः, राज्ञतमः ॥ The Nominal stem राज्ञ् gets the designation of Pada, before these affixes, by I. 4. 17.

Why do we say 'of a Prātipadika or Nominal stem'? Observe अहमस्मिन् ॥ Here अहम् is a verb, the 3rd Per. Sg.Imperfect (लङ्) of the root अह् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end'? If the word अन्तस्य had not been used in the sūtra, then the sūtra would have stood thus नलोपः प्रातिपदिकस्य; and as the word परस्य is understood here, the sūtra would have meant, there is elision of न्, where ever it may be, of a Pada called stem. So that the न् of नराभ्याम् would also have required elision. In fact, the genitive case here in परस्य is not sthāna shashṭhi, but viseshāna shashṭhi, नलोप अन्तग्रहणं पदाधिकारस्य विशेषणत्वात् ॥

Q. But even if you use the word अन्त in the sūtra, it is compounded with the word प्रातिपदिक, and the sense of the sūtra will be "न् which is at the

end of a pratipadika, which (prâtipadika) is a portion of a pada" &c. and not "न् which is at the end of a pada". So that the rule will not apply to अह्नराभ्यां but will apply to राजानौ &c? Ans. The word प्रातिपदिक is not compounded, with the word अन्त in the sūtra. It is used without any case-affix, on the analogy of Chhandas usage. In fact, it is in the genitive case, the affix being elided by VII. 1. 39.

Vart: The prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of the न् of अहन् ॥ As अहः, In अहर् the case-affix ह् is luk-elided by VII. 1. 23, the pratyaya-lakshana is prohibited by I. 1. 63, and hence the न् of अहन is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 69. अह्नाभ्याम्, अह्नाभिः ॥ For the rules VIII. 2. 68 and 69 by which the final of अहन् is changed to र्, are asiddha with regard to this present rule requiring elision of न्, hence this vārtika.

Q. There is no necessity of this vārtika, for the subsequent rules VIII. 2. 69, 68 will debar नलोप ॥ Ans. But ह् and र् are considered asiddha for the purposes of न् elision. The ह् and र् would have debarred न् elision, had they otherwise found no scope. But they have their scope. *Q.* Where have they their scope? Ans. In the penultimate अ i.e. in the अ preceding the न् ॥ *Q.* The very fact that the author has used the word अहन् in the sūtra VIII. 2. 68, shows that ह् does not replace अ but न् ॥ Ans. If so, then र् will find scope in the Vocative, हे अहन् where न् is retained by VIII. 2. 8, and it will be this न् which will be replaced by र्, as ह अहर् and so also हे शीर्षाणि निदाय !

The word शीर्षाहन् is a Bahuvrihi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the न् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to ह् (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन्! the न् is not elided by the option of the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 8.

To remove these objections, they say, the word अहन् which is used in VIII. 2. 68 is in nominative singular without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् ॥ The one indicates the exact *form*, showing that the न् is not elided; and by the second word the ह् is ordained for this final न् ॥

न ङिसंबुद्धोः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ङि, सम्बुद्धोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डौ परतः संबुद्धौ च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ङात्रुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ वा नपुंसकानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debar the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sūtra. The examples of non-elision, of न् in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39), आग्ने चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् ॥ Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the न् is not elided, as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

Q. When रङ् or the Vocative is elided, the preceding stem is no longer a Prâtipadika, and the stem does not get the designation of ष before the affix but is न, hence where is the necessity of making the present prohibitory rule, when the elision of न् would not have taken place in the Locative and Vocative singular, by any rule ?

Ans. The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñâpaka), that a word retains the designation of prâtipadika, though an affix has been elided after it and though such elided affix may produce its effect (I. 2. 45 read with I. 1. 62). Nor will such elided affix give the designation of Bha (न) to such a stem. Thus राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः, here the न् is elided by considering the word राज्ञन् as a prâtipadika, even after the elision of the Genitive affix in the compound, and it is not a Bha, which would have required the elision of ष by VI. 4. 134.

Vart :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpuruṣa, the न् is elided : as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्म तिलः ॥

In हे राजन्व्याक् the first member राजन् does not retain its न् by the present sūtra, because the whole compound, as such, is in the Vocative case, and not the word राजन् ॥ In fact, there can be no compound, which in its analysis, will give the first member as a Vocative word.

Vart :—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे चर्मन्, हे चर्म ।

मातुपधायाश्च मतोर्वो ज्यवादिभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, आत्, उपधायाः, च, मतोः, चः, अ यवादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्ताद् मकारोपधादवर्णान्तादवर्णोपधाच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्धे इत्ययमादेशो भवति यवादिभ्यस्तु परतो न भवति ॥

9. For the न् of the affix मन् is substituted च, if the stem ends in न् or अ (and आ) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in न् or having न् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted च् for the न् of मत् ॥ First after stems ending in न्, as क्रियन् (क्रियान्), शंसन् (शंसान्). Secondly न् penultimate : as शमीवान्, शङ्खिमीवान् ॥ Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as वृक्षवान्, हृक्षवान्, खट्वावान्, मालावान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate : as—पयस्वान्, यज्ञस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say “न or अ ending or न or अ penultimate”? Observe अग्निमान्, वायुमान् ॥ Why do we say “with the exception of यव &c”? Observe यवमान्, इल्मिमान्, उर्मिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. यव, 2. क्स्मि, 3. उर्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृपि, 6. कुञ्चा, 7. वषा, 8. व्राक्षा, 9. प्राक्षा ॥ These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate. 10. ध्रजि, 11. ध्वजि, 12. सक्जि. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हरित्, 14. ककुत्, 15 गरुत् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इष्टु, 17. मधु, 18. हुम, 19. मण्ड, 20. पुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an ākṛitigaṇa. Wherever in a word, the म् of मत्पृ is not changed to व्, though the rules require it, that word should be classified under अवादि class. In the secondary word नार्मत् (= नृमत् इव), the व् change has not taken place, because the अ is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ऋ ॥

The word मात् in the sūtra is the Ablative of म, i. e. of म् + अ; it is a Sa-māhāra Dvandva of these two letters.

ज्ञयः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञयन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

10. The व् is substituted for the म् of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As अग्निचित्त्वान् आमः, उवद्विवत्त्वान् घोषः, विशुत्त्वान् बलाहकः, इन्द्रो मरुत्त्वान्, दृषद्द्वान् देवः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

11. The व् is substituted for म् of मत्, when the word so formed is a Name.

As अहीवती, कपीवती, ऋषीवती, सुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120.

आसन्दीवद् अष्टविश्वक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्गुमण्ण्चर्मण्वती ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसन्दीवत्, अष्टीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमण्वत्, चर्मण्वती ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्दीवद् अष्टीवत् चक्रीवत् कक्षीवद् रुमण्वत् चर्मण्वती इत्येतानि संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते ॥

12. The following Names are irregularly formed : āsandīvat, aṣṭhīvat, chakrīvat, kakshīvat, rumaṇvat, charmanvatī.

The change of म् to व् in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी ॥ As आसन्दीवान् आमः, आसन्दीवद् अहिस्थलम् ॥ As in the following śloka :

आसन्दीवति धान्यात् रुक्मिणं हरितमजम् ।

अद्वयं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेशो जनमेजयः ॥

When not a name, we have आसनवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a separate and distinct stem आसन्दी, as in the sentence औदुम्बरी राजासन्दी भवति ॥ The change of म् to व् after this word would take place regularly by the last sūtra : its mention here, according to these authors, is merely explanatory. 2. अष्टीवत् is from

अस्थि which is changed to अष्ठी ॥ As अष्ठीवान् the name of a particular portion of body; the kneec-joints. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवान् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री, as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् ॥ चक्रीवन्ति सरोहविर्द्धानानि भवन्ति is a Vedic example. It means सारस्वते सरोहज्जमानि सरोह विर्धानानि, न स्वेकत्रावस्थितानि, तानि तत्र तत्र कर्षेण चक्रपुक्तानि भवन्ति ॥ 4. कर्षीवान् is from कर्ष्या, there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 2. कर्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कर्ष्यावान् ॥ 5. रुमण्वन् is from लवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a distinct word रुमण्, and the न् is not elided, but changed to ण् ॥ Or that the affix मन् takes the augment नुद् ॥ 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ Or मन् has taken नुद् augment. The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

उदन्वानुद्धौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदन्वान्, उद्धौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानिख्युक्कशब्दस्य मत्ताडुवन्भावो निपात्यते उद्धावर्ये संज्ञायां विषये ॥

13. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed, in the sense of "a sea".

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मन् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like तटाक &c. The affix क्ति is added by III. 3 93, and उदक changed to उद् by VI. 3. 58, and thus we have उद्धाधिः ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a sea"? Observe उदकवान् घटः 'a pot having water'. Here the main idea is not that of "holding or containing", but simply the general fact of possessing water: a human being may also possess water in the same way.

राजन्वान्सौराज्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वान्, सौराज्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्वानिति निपात्यते, सौराज्ये गम्यमाने ॥

14. Also राजन्वान्, when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती पृथ्वी ॥ The affix मनुष् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

छन्दसीरः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, इ, रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णान्ताङ्ग्रेफान्ताञ्चोत्तरस्य मत्तोर्विस्थं भवति ॥

15. In the Chhandas छ् is substituted for the म् of मन्, when the stem ends in इ (or ई) or र् ॥

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as चिवती वाड्यानुवाक्या भवति; हरियो मे वनं त्वा; अधिपति वती शुभोति; अतुग्निवानिव; भारिवानेतु मा विद्यात् (भारिवान् from रवि with vocalisation). सारस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, रधीवांश्चरुः ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सप्तर्षिमन्तम्, ऋषिमान्, ऋषीमान् मूर्धे ते ऋषाण्युपिषीमन्त ॥ Of stems ending in र we have गीर्वान्, धूर्वान्, आशीर्वान् ॥

अनो नुद् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, नुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति वर्तते ऽनन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्नुडागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

16. The affix मत् gets the augment नुद्, in the Chhandas, after a stem ending in अन् ॥

As अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः; अस्यन्वन्तं यदनस्या विभक्ति (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षण्वता लाङ्गलेन; शीर्षण्वती, मूर्धन्वती ॥

The word अक्षण्वन् is thus formed: आक्षि + मत्तुप् = अक्ष् + अन् + मत् (अनञ् is substituted for the final of akshi by VII. 1. 76) = अक्षमत् (the न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Now we add the augment नुद् ॥ If this augment is added to मत्तुप्, as मत्तुप् then it becomes a *portion* of मत्तुप्, and this न् would be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 9 read with I. 1. 54, and not the letter न्, because न् intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in अक्षण्वता &c. we cannot change it to ष because of the prohibition in VIII. 4. 37, and the augment being नुक्, the न् would be changed to रु by VIII. 3. 7 in सुपायिन्तरः &c (VIII. 2. 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by नुदोऽसिद्धस्तात् तस्य च वस्वं न भवति; ततः परस्य च भवति; as shown above.

The नुद् augment being considered as asiddha, is not changed to ष, but the letter following it, is so changed. Thus अक्षन् (VII. 1. 76) + मत् = अक्ष + मत् (the न् of the stem is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Add the augment नुद् now, and we have अक्ष + न्मत् ॥ The augment according to VIII. 2. 1, is asiddha, so that according to VIII. 2. 9, ष् is substituted for न्, and not for न्, as would have been required by I. 1. 54.

नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तादुत्तरस्य पसंज्ञकस्य नुडागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शूरिषावन्तु नुद् वक्तव्यः ॥ वाः ॥ रयिन् ईकारान्तादिषो घ परतः ॥

17. In the Chhandas, the affixes तर and तम receive the augment नुद् after a stem in न् ॥

The affixes तर्प् and तमप् are called घ ॥ Thus सुपायिन् + तर = सुपायि + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = सुपायि + न्तर (VIII. 2. 17) = सुपायिन्तरः ॥ So also वस्युङ्गन्तमः ॥

Vårt:—The augment नुद् is added to these affixes after शूरिषावन्; as शूरिषावन्तरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिप्).

Vårt:—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रयिन् before तर and तम ॥ The word रयिन् is formed by the affix हानि in the sense of मत्तुप् ॥ The final न् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short इ of रयि the long ई is substituted by the present vārtika. If the long ई were substituted for the final न् of रयिन् as रयिई + तर, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding इ into ई, and the form would always remain रयिईतरः ॥ As रयीतरः, and रयीतमं रयीनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after एय in the sense of मत्तुप् ॥

कृपो रो लः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृपः, रः, लः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृपेर्द्धी णे रेफस्य लकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृपणकृपाणकृपीटकपूर्वादयोपि क्रपेरेव दृष्टव्याः ॥

वा० ॥ बालमूलमसुरालमह्युलीनां वा रोऽन्मापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ कपिलकाशीनां सहाञ्जन्सौर्यां रोऽन्मापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

18. For the र of the root कृप्, there is substituted ल् ॥

The र here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single consonant र and the same consonant of the vowel क् ॥ So also with ल् ॥ So that for the single र there is substituted ल् ; and for र when a portion of क्, the ल् is substituted, i.e. क् becomes ल् ॥ Thus कृप् = क्लप्, as in the sūtra लुटि च क्लप् : (I. 3. 93). कल्पा, कल्पाः, कल्पाः ॥ क्लमः, क्लमवान् ॥

The word कृप is derived from the root कृप् by vocalisation, as it has been enumerated in Bhidādi class (कृपेः संप्रसारणं च III. 3. 104). The vocalised root-form कृप is not to be taken here, as it is a lakshanika form.

Vart:—The words कृपण, कृपाण, कृपीट, कर्पूर &c. are also from कृप् ॥ Or by the Uṇādi diversity, the ल् change does not take place.

Vart:—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बालः or बारः, मूलम् or मूरम्, लघु or रघु, असुरः or असुलः, अलम् or अरम्, अह्युलिः or अह्युरिः ॥

Vart:—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c, as कपिरकः or कपिलकः, तिल्पिलीकम् or तिल्पिरीकम्, लोमाणि or रोमाणि, पांशुरं or पांशुलं, कर्म or कल्म, शुकः or शुक्लः, कल्मषं, कर्मषं ॥

Some say 'र and ल are one': and operations regarding र may be performed with regard to ल ॥

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेऽस्तस्य लकार इ. इ. णे भवति ॥

19. ल is substituted for the र of a Preposition, when अयते follows.

Thus पलायते, ज्ञायते ॥ Here arises the question, does the word अयति qualify the word र, or does it qualify the word Preposition. In the first view, the sūtra would mean, "the र immediately followed by अयति is changed to ल" ॥ But as a matter of fact, र is never immediately followed by अयति ॥ Thus in प्र + अयति or परा + अयति, the letter अ and आ intervene respectively. The ekādeśa sandhi of these, will make र immediately followed by अयति ; but the ekādeśa, being sthānivat will prevent it. This difficulty however, is overcome by the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्, for otherwise the rule will be useless. For the same reasons, परि + अयते = पल्ययते, though here इ intervenes between र and अयते ॥ In short, the intervention of one letter is considered as no intervention.

In the second view, the sūtra would mean when a Preposition is followed by ayat then its र is changed to ल, and none of these difficulties will arise

with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र of प्रति would also require to be changed into ल् ॥ Some say, that प्रति is never followed by भवति; while others hold that the form प्रत्ययते (प्रति + भवते) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is प्रत्ययते ॥ The स् of the Prepositions दुस् and निस् is changed to र्, but this र् is not changed to ल्, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निरवणम्, दुरवणम् ॥ But there is a preposition निर् also the र् of which is changed to ल्, as निलवणम् ॥ See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhânta Kaumudi, there is a Preposition दुर् also, which gives दुलयते ॥

प्रो यङि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृ इत्येतत्त्व धातो रेफस्य लकार भादेशो भवति यङि परतः ॥

20. ल् is substituted for the र् of गृ in the Intensive.

Thus निजेगिष्यते, निजेगिष्येते, निजेगिष्यन्ते ॥ The root गृ takes बह्, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). गर्हितं गिलति = जेगिष्यते ॥

Some say that म् of the sūtra includes the two roots गृ (गिरति Tud. 117) and गृ (गृणाति Kry. 28). Others hold that the Tudādi ग्रि is only taken and not the Kryādi. The Kryādi ग्रि never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe निगिर्यते with the Passive affix बह् ॥

अचि विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातौ प्रत्यये परतो धो रेफस्य विभाषा लकारदेशो भवति ॥

21. The र् of ग्रि is optionally changed to ल्, before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As निगिरति or निगिलति, निगरणम् or निगलनम्, निगारकः or निगालकः ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, the optional forms have particular meanings. Thus गलः meaning 'neck' is always with ल्; while गरः 'poison' is always with र्.

In निगार्यते or निगास्वते, the elision of णि is considered sthānivad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with अ ॥ Obj.—The sthānivad-bhāva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule पूर्वोच्चारितं does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोगादिलोप, लस्य and णस्य on the maxim "तस्य शेषः संयोगादिलोपलस्यणस्येषु" ॥

Or the र् will be first changed to ल्, as being antarāṅga, and then the णि will be elided.

The forms गिरी, गिरः are either from the Kryādi root ग्रि, or /-change has not taken place on the maxim धातोः स्वरूपमहणे तत्प्रत्यये विज्ञानम् and as the

affixes औ and झः are not affixes which are ordained after a verb, but are affixes added to nouns, hence the ळ change has not taken place. In fact the words 'an affix beginning with a vowel' in the sūtra, means "a verbal affix beginning with a vowel," and not a noun affix. These are the Dual and Plural of the Nominative case of गृ formed with the affix क्विप् ॥

परेभ्य घाङ्कयोः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च, घ-अङ्कयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि इत्येतस्य यो रेफस्तस्य घञ्छब्दे ऽङ्कशब्दे च परसो विभाषा लकार आदेशो भवति ॥

वर्तकम् ॥ योगं चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The र् of परि is changed to ळ, before gha and anka.

As परिघः or पलिघः, पर्यङ्कः or पत्त्यङ्कः ॥ The word घ here means the word-form घ, and not the technical घ of तरप् and तमप् ॥ See III. 3. 84 by which हृन् is replaced by घ ॥

Vart:—So also, it must be stated, before the word योगः ॥ As, परियोगः or पलियोगः ॥

संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तस्य पदस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

As गोमान्, यवमान्, कृतवान् and हतवान् ॥ In श्रेयान्, भूवान्, the ह though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus श्रेयस् + स् = श्रेयन्स् + स् (VII. 1. 70), = श्रेयन्स् (VI. 1. 68) = श्रेयन् (VIII. 2. 66) = श्रेयन् (VIII. 2. 23) = श्रेयान् (VI. 4. 8). But though the हस्व does not debar lopa, it debars the ञच् change. By VIII. 2. 39, the final स् required to be changed to a letter of ञच् class; ह prevents it. As यज्ञः, पद्यः ॥

For हस्व is ordained even where the present संयोगान्तलोप applies and where it does not apply. Thus it is ordained in श्रेयन् where the present sūtra applies, as well as in पद्य where this sūtra does not apply. But the ञच्स्व rule (VIII. 2. 39) covers the whole ground of हस्व, hence if ञच्स्व rule were not debarred by हस्व, the latter would find no scope. Therefore हस्व debars ञच्स्व to justify its existence, but it does not debar संयोगान्तलोपः for it still has scope left to it else where.

In हृद्यन् and मृद्यन् formed from हृधि + अन् and मृद्यु + अन्, by changing ह् and उ to हृ and मृ, we have हृद्य् + अन् and मृद्य् + अन्, where हृ and मृ are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because यच् substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe गोमन्तौ, गोमन्तः ॥

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, सस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तपरस्य यो रेफस्तस्मादुत्तरस्यान्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

24. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus अस्ताः and अस्ताः for अस्तास् and अस्तास् the Aorist of अर् and स्वर in the following passages: गोभिरस्ताः, प्रत्यञ्चमस्ताः ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also मातुः, पितुः for मातुस् and पितुस् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 111, the ऋ + अ of मातृ + अस् is changed to ऋ, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 51.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after र् by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after र् shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after र् will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्क from ऊर्क + क्विप् (III. 2. 177), here क् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. Also अनाई from अनाइ in लङ् the तिप् (त्) is elided by VI. 1. 18; there is वृद्धि by VII. 2. 114, the इ is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to इ VIII. 4. 53 and finally to इ (चर्) ॥

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धकारादौ प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—धि सकारे सिचो लोपश्चकाराद्धीति प्रयोजनम् ।

आशाभ्यं तु कथं जहात्य सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छ्रुतिश्चापि न विद्यते ।

ह्रस्वभापि न मूर्धन्ये महणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥

पसिभसोर्न सिध्येत तस्मास्तिङ्महणं न तत् ।

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा बधेष्कर्त्तारमभ्यरे ॥

25. The स् is dropped before an affix beginning with ध ॥

As अलविध्यम्, अलविद्म, अपविध्यम्, अपविद्म for अलविध्यम् and अपविध्यम् ॥ Had this स् (of सिच्) not been elided; then स् would be first changed to ष, and then to a letter of जश् class (VIII. 4. 53), ष् would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII, 3. 79, but the forms would be always with ष, as अलविद्म &c. ॥

From an *ishṭi*, the elision of स् is confined to the स् of the Aorist सिच्, and not to any other स् ॥ Thus स् is not elided in चकाञ्चि in चकाञ्चि पलितं धिरः (हे धिरः पलितं सच् चकाञ्चि शोभस्त्वैत्यर्थः). It is the Imperative of चकास् the सिप् is changed to हि, and हि to धि (VI. 4. 101), and स् to इ by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to पयस् धावति, where स is changed to इ and then to इ (VI. 1. 114)

=पयो धावति ॥ The elision of स् in सग्धिः from घस् with क्तिन्, and in बहधात् from मस् in the Imperative with तास्, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali चक्राधि is the proper form; while in पयो धावति the antarangā ह debars this bahiranga स् elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form आघ्राध्वं, by the elision of स् of घ्रास् ; for स् would not be elided? Ans.—The स् is not here elided but changed to जश् letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, स् may always be changed to जश् letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. आघ्राध्वम् or आघ्राध्वं ॥ Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sūtra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word लुह् from it. For the forms like अघ्योऽहुन्, अघ्नोऽहुन्, will be evolved regularly by changing स् of सिच् to ष् ; and the ध after it will be changed to ह, and then ष् changed to ह् by जश्त्व (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in सेद् Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अलविह्वन् &c, though we may get the form अलविह्वन् (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word सिच् should be taken.

Obj. —If सिच् is to be taken here, then the स् of घस् and मस् will not be dropped, and we shall not get the forms सग्धिः and बहधां in the passages सग्धिश्च मे सपीतिश्च मे, and बहधां ते हरीधानाः ॥ Therefore, the present sūtra should not be confined to सिच् only. Ans.—We shall explain सग्धिः by saying, that it is a word derived from सच्, and so also बहधां from the root बन्ध ॥

[N. B.—The word सग्धिः is generally thus derived; अद् + क्तिन् = घस् + ति (II. 4. 39) = षस् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = ष् + ति (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to सिच्, the स् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so घस् and मस् have lost their स् ॥ That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chhandas, we see in passages like the following ह्यक्तर्त्तारमध्वरे for निष्कर्त्तारमध्वरे ; तुभ्येदमग्ने for तुभ्यभिवमग्ने ; आम्बानां चहः for नाम्बानां चहः ; अघ्याधिनी रुग्णः or अघ्याधिनीः सुग्णाः ॥

The above discussion is summarised in the following

Kārikā.—धिसकारे सिचोलोपचक्राद्धीति प्रयोजनम्, “This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिच् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in चक्राद्धि” ॥

आघ्राध्वं तु कथं? जश्त्व सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥ “How then do you form आघ्राध्वं by the elision of स्? The स् is not elided but changed to a जश् letter”.

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्, छुति ऋपि न विद्यते । लुह्वापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेदि दुष्यति ॥ “ If this be so, then let जश् come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word लुह् from it. The जश् cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in सेद् Aorist”. घसि मसोर्न सिधेत, तस्मात् सिच् ग्रहणं न तत् । “ The forms सग्धिः and बहधां could not be formed

from चस् and भस् if the elision of स् were confined to सिच्. Hence सिच् should not be read into this sūtra."

छान्त्सो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कर्त्तरिभधरे " The elision of स् in सन्धिः and बद्धां will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in इष्कर्त्तरिभधरे instead of निष्कर्त्तरिभधरे ॥"

झलो झलि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलो, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झल उक्तस्य सकारस्य झलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

26. The स् is elided when it is preceded by a *jhal* consonant (any consonant except semi-vowels and nasals), and is followed by an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant.

Thus अभिस्त for अभिस्त, अभित्याः for अभित्याः ॥ So also अञ्चित्त, अञ्चित्याः, अवात्तात्, अवात् ॥ The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the elision of the स of सिच् being considered as asiddha, the स् of the root is changed to त् ॥

Why do we say 'of a *jhal* consonant'? Observe अमस्त and अमत्याः ॥ Why do we say followed by a *jhal* consonant? Observe अभित्सात्तात्, अभित्तत् ॥

The स of this sūtra refers also to the स of सिच्; no other स is elided. As सोममसुत् स्तोता; हवत् स्यान् ॥ Here the स of स्तोता and स्यान्, though preceded by a *jhal* letter स्, could never be elided as they do not form portion of *one* word.

ह्रस्वाद्ङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्तासङ्गादुच्चस्य सकारस्यलोपो भवति झलि परतः ॥

27. The स् is elided, before an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant, when it is preceded by a stem ending in a short vowel.

As अकृत; अहयाः ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe अच्योष्ट, अष्टोष्ट ॥ Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अकृष्याः, अलाविष्टात्, अलाविषुः अपाविष्टात् and अपाविषुः ॥ Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a *jhal*". Observe अकृषात्तात्, अकृषत् ॥

This lopa is also of the सिच्, therefore not here विष्टरां, विष्टमात् ॥ Here to the word वि is added the affix सुच् (V. 4. 18), and then the comparative affixes त्तर and त्तम with आत् (V. 4. 11). This स् is not dropped.

इट ईदि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, ईदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इट उक्तस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईदि परतः ॥

28. The स् is dropped after the augment इद्, if after this स् the augment ईद् follows.

Thus the Aorist-stem of वृ is अलाविस् (III. 1. 44; VII. 2. 35), the Personal ending स् gets the augment ईद् by VII. 3. 96; and by the present

sûtra, this स् between ह् and ई is dropped, and we have अलावीत्; so also, असावीत्, असेवीत्, अकोषीत्, अमोषीत् ॥

Why do we say 'after the augment इद्' ? Observe अकार्षीत्, अहर्षीत् ॥
Why when the augment ईद् follows ? Observe अलाविटाम् अलाविषुः ॥

स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्कोः, संयोग-आद्योः, अन्ते, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परस्यान्ते चः संयोगः झलि परतो वा संयोगस्तशयोः सकारककारयोर्लोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ झलि सङीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped, before a jhal affix, and at the end of a word.

A conjunct consonant, having स् or क् as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pāda, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its स् or क् ॥ Thus from the root लस्त् we have लग्नः and लग्नवान् before the jhal affix स and तवत्; the substitution of न् for त् is considered asiddha for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also साधुलक् at the end of a Pada. Similarly मग्नः मग्नवान्, साधुमक् from मस्त् ॥ So also with initial क्, as तद् from तक्; so also तटः, तटवान्, काष्ठतद् ॥

Vārti.— It should be rather stated that "before a jhal affix included in the pratyahāra सङ्" ॥ The सङ् is a pratyāhāra formed with the स of सन् (III.1.5) and the ङ् of महिङ् (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the kṛit affixes, and dhātu affixes i. e. affixes which come after a *verb* and not the Taddhita or the Feminine affixes. This Vārtika applies to all the preceding sūtras of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

निरौऽभोधिर्यदं च इपत्स्यः काष्ठचक्त्स्विरः । कुञ्जाद्युयैति मा स्मैषु सत्साहीनि भवति ॥

So that in निरः there should not be the optional ल् by VIII. 2. 21. In अभोधिः, the स् of अभस् is not elided before धि as required by VIII. 2. 25. In यिदं the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In इपत्स्यः the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In काष्ठचक्त्स्विरः the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In कुञ्जा the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In युयैः (युं वृत्ति) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus काष्ठचक्त्स्यात् ॥ Here क् would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant य ॥ काष्ठचक् is formed by adding क्त्स्वि to चक् ॥ But according to Patanjali, there can be formed no valid word from चक् with क्त्स्वि, *a fortiori*, no such word can be formed as काष्ठचक्त्स्यात् (काष्ठचकि तिष्ठति).

In वात्यर्थम्, काक्यर्थम्, the स् and क् are not elided, because ङ् is a Bahir-anga substitute and asiddha, and the word वात्य् काक्य् are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say "of स् and क्" ? Observe नर्भक्ति, वर्षक्ति ॥

Why do we say 'initial in a conjunct consonant' ? Observe पवः चक् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end of a word' ? Observe तक्षिता, तक्षकः ॥

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

30. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a *jhal* affix, or at the end of a word.

Thus पक्त्वा, पक्त्व, पक्त्व्यम् and भोदनपक् from पच् ॥ Similarly वक्त्वा, वक्त्व, वक्त्व्यम् and वाक् ॥

In कुञ्चा the feminine in दाप् of कुञ्च (कुच्) by IV. 1. 4 list, the च् a palatal is followed by च् a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pāṇini himself uses this word, in this form, in sūtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to सङ् affixes only. Or the root is कुञ्च without इ and with a penultimate न्, and not च् as we find in Dhātupāṭha कुञ्च कौटिल्यात्पी भाष्योः (Bhu. 200). With the elision of न् we have निकृषितिः before the क्तिन् affix (VI. 4. 24) कृषितः in Past Part. and अचोक्तुन् ॥ In निकृषितम् we cannot have the optional क्तिन् of the Nishṭhā by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate न् by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being क्तिन्, thus कुञ्च+क्त=कुञ्+क्त ॥ This elision of न्, will not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim समिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥ In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of न् does not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of making the affix non-क्तिन् ॥ The affix क्तिन् takes the augment इद् under VII. 2. 9 (vārt). The word कुञ्च is formed from this root by क्तिन् affix (III. 2. 59): the final च् is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then च् is changed to ङ् by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

In this view of the case we say कुञ्च is an irregular form of this root kunch, because it is so exhibited in III. 2. 59. There the anusvāra and parasavarṇa change of this न् to च् by VIII. 3. 24 being considered asiddha, there is no palatal च्, and hence there is no guttural change.

हो ङः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारस्य ङकारदेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते च ॥

31. ङ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लोढा, लोडुन्, लोडव्यम् ॥ The इद् is not added by VII. 2. 48, अलापाद्, मुरापाद् by ङि (III. 2. 63, VI. 3. 137 and VIII. 3. 56) षोढा, षोडुन्, षोडव्यं, प्रषपाद्, शित्यपाद् (III. 2. 64) from सङ् and वङ्, with the affixes न्, तुन्, त्व्यम् and ङि ॥ For the न् of these affixes there is substituted ङ by VIII. 2. 40, and this ङ is changed to ह by VIII. 4. 41, before which is dropped the first ह by VIII. 3. 13. For the ह in प्रषपाद् either ङ is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or ह by VIII. 4. 56.

दादेशांतोर्धः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द-आदेः, धातोः, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दकारादेशांतोर्धकारस्य घकारादेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते ॥

32. Of a root beginning with द्, the घ is substituted for ह, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

For the final ह् of a ह्-beginning root, च is substituted under similar circumstances. As दग्धा, दग्धुच्, दग्धव्यच्, काष्ठधक्, दोग्धा, दोग्धुच्, दोग्धव्यच्, गोधुक्, from दृह् and दृह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes तृ &c. च is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the च becomes ण by VIII. 4. 53. For the च in काष्ठधक् is substituted ण by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4. 56, and दृ becomes ध by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with ह्"? Observe लेढा, लेढुच्, लेढव्यच्, हुडेलिद् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word दृहः, but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole: so that it means "the word which begins with ह् and forms part of a root, for the ह् of such a part is substituted च." What does follow from it? The letter च is substituted in अघोश् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोरेवयो यो रादिघञ्स्तदवयवस्य हकारस्य &c), the च would have come in examples like मास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा षष्ठी will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the force of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain the forms दोग्धा, दोग्धुच्, for here no *portion* is taken but the *whole* word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भावः "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sūtra, by saying 'that root which begins with ह् in its original enunciation in Dhātupāṭha'? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with ह् ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like दानलिह्य (दानलिहानिच्छति = दानलिह्यति), it is a root which begins with ह्; the ह् of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to च, for it is not a root of upadeśa. Therefore, when we add क्विप् to this root, we get दानलिद् by VIII. 2. 31, and not दानलिक् ॥

वा मुहमुहह्युहण्णिहाय ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, मुह, मुह, ण्युह, ण्णिहाय ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ न्ह मुह ण्युह ण्णिह इत्येतेषां धातूनां हकारस्य वा चकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः पदाने च ॥

33. The ह् of druh, muh, shṛuh, and shṛih is optionally changed to च, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

Thus दृहः, श्रोषा Or श्रोष्वा, निचयुक्, निचयुद्, दृह, उन्मोष्वा, उन्मोषा, उन्मुक्, उन्मुद्, मुह, उन्मोष्वा, उन्मोषा, उन्स्तुक्, उन्स्तुद्, सिह, शेष्वा, शेषा, शिक्, सिद् ॥

The root दृह् would have taken always च by the last sūtra, this makes it optional. The others would not have got च but for this sūtra.

These roots belong to Radhādi sub-class of Divādi gaṇa: and are

taught there in this very order (Div. 89-91). By belonging to Radhādi sub-division, the ह् is optional (VII. 2. 45). Instead of making the sūtra बाहुव्रीह्यात्, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to बहुव्रीह्य also; as शेषक or शेषद्वय ॥ See VII. 1. 6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by गण, then the rule would not apply to याँ luk.

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहो हकारस्य धकारदेशो भवति झलि परे पदान्ते च ॥

34. The ह् of नह् is changed to ध before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

As नञ्, नद्वेष, नञ्च्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त् of the affixes नृ &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40; and for the preceding ध is substituted ह् by VIII. 4. 53. उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीणत् is formed by क्तिन् as it belongs to सम्प्रसारि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ण-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह् been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध; but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध for the participial त् &c, in नञ्च, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhā त् into न् by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नध् + त् = नध् + ध (VIII. 2. 40) = नध्-धम् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been ह्, we should have नह् + त् = नह् by VIII. 2. 42.

आहस्यः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहः, धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो हकारस्य यकारदेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ह्यहो भेदञ्चनति हस्येति यञ्च्यम् ॥

35. For the ह् of the root आह्, there is substituted ध before a *jhal* letter.

As आहस्य, किमास्य ॥ The word आह्य becomes आस्य by VIII. 4. 55. Why has the last mentioned substitute ध not been ordained here, for this ध would also have given the form आस्य by चर change, as the ध is also changed to त्; and by so doing there would have been only one sūtra, instead of two i. e. आहनहो धं would have been enough? Making this separate substitute, is for the sake of indicating that the rule VIII. 2. 40, does not apply here. For had VIII. 2. 40, still applied, the substitute ध of the last sūtra would have been enough. The त् substitute, however, would have been the best.

The word झलि is understood here. Hence there is no change before vowel affixes, as आह, आहतुः, आहुः ॥

Vart:— In the Chhandas, न् is substituted for the ह् of हु and मह् ॥ Thus नईमेन संभवति; नरुस्य गृणाति; साविधेन्वी अग्निरे, उद्गामञ्च निवामञ्च ब्रह्म देवा भवीवृधन् ॥

ब्रह्मञ्जस्जसृजमृजयजराजम्राजञ्छशां षः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म, ञ्जस्ज, सृज, मृज, यज, राज, म्राज, छ, शाम, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्ष भ्रस्ज सृज वृज यज राज भ्राज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां चाकारान्तानां च षकार आदेशो भवति इति परतः पशन्ते च ॥

36. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij mrij, yaj, râj, and bhrâj, and for the final छ and झ, there is substituted ष before a *jhal* letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus अवृष्ः—अटा, अटुम्, अटव्यम् मूलवृद् ॥ अटा । अटुम् । अटव्यम् । धानावृद् । सृष् । अटा । अटुम् । अटव्यम् । रज्जुसृद् । वृज । माटा । माटुम् । माटव्यम् । कंसपरिवृद् । यज । अटा । अटुम् । अटव्यम् । उपयद् । राज् । सम्राट् । स्वराट्, विराट्, विभ्राट् ॥ The छ ending words would have been changed to ञष्-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debars that by ordaining ष ॥ In मूलवृद् and धानावृद् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the ष is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and ष becomes ञष्-letter ङ्, which becomes ङ् by VIII. 4. 56. The word चाव्यमाद् is formed by चिवष्, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

The roots राज् and भ्राज् are never followed by a *jhal* beginning affix, because such affixes will always take इद् augment. These roots are, therefore, mentioned here, for the sake of the change of their ज् to ष्, when at the end of a word. Some, however, form nouns like राटिः, भ्राटिः with क्तिष् affix from these roots by III. 3. 94, vârt., and इद् augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in छ we have अष्छः—अटा, अटुम्, अटव्यम्, चाव्यमाद् ॥ According to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI. 4. 19, छ is always changed to ञ, and this ञ will be changed to ष by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to ञ by VI. 4. 19 is confined before क्तिष् or क्तिष् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the ष substitution here, and the ञ substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to the conjunct letter ञ्छ (with the augment तुक्). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to ञ, the ण् of तुक् would be changed to इ, and we should have पृद्दः instead of पृट्टः ॥

Of roots ending in झ we have लिष्ः—लेटा, लेटुम्, लेटव्यम्, लिट्; विष्ः—वेटा, वेटुम्, वेटव्यम्, विट् ॥

एकाचो बशो अष् झषन्तस्य ष्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अचः, बशः, अष्, झष-अन्तस्य, सू, ष्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरेवयवो य एकाच् झषन्तः तदवयवस्य बशः स्याने अष् आदेशो भवति इति सकारे ष्वघञे च परतः पशन्ते च ॥

37. For the letters ब, ग, ड or ढ in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, and which ends in झ, म, घ, ढ or ध, there is substituted म, घ, ढ or ध respectively, before स or ष्व, or at the end of a pada (word).

Thus from बुध्—भोत्स्यन्ते, अमुष्यम् and अर्थमुन्; from सुह्—नि घोश्चते न्यसुहुम्, पर्णसुद् ॥ सुह् becomes सुह् by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in jhash.

From दुह्—(which becomes दुष् by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) धोदयते अदुष्चन्, गोष्ठुक् ॥

So also from गृध् we have अजर्घाः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (लृट्) Intensive (yañ luk). There is guṇa of ष, the स् (of सिप् 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्घर्ध्, and for the letter ग of the monosyllabic root, ष is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्घर्ध् ॥ Then the final ध् is changed to ह्, अजर्घर्ह् (VIII. 2. 39). Then ह् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अजर्घर्र् ॥ Then the first र् is elided अजर्घर् (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. III, and we have अजर्घाः ॥

The monosyllable should be such that it should begin with a षष् and end with a हष् letter, and should be a full root or the portion (अवयव) of a root. In fact, this word which we found necessary in VIII. 2. 32, is absolutely necessary here, in order to explain forms like गर्धर् from the Denominative root गर्धभञ्ज, by विवष् ॥

Why do we say “a monosyllable beginning with षष् and ending with हष्?” Observe हानलिह् from the Denominative root हानलिह्य ॥ For had एकाचः not been employed in the sūtra, the word धातोः (VIII. 2. 32) would have qualified षष्ः and the sūtra would have meant “in a root which ended in a jhash, and which contained a षष् letter as its member; there is jhash substitution for such षष्”, and the ह् of हानलिह् would be changed then.

Why do we say “for a षष् letter”? Observe कुध्—क्रोत्स्यति here क is not changed to ष ॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe हास्यति ॥ Why before स and ष्व ? Observe बोद्धा, बोद्ध्युन्, बोद्ध्वन् ॥

Why have we taken ष्व and not merely ष ? Observe हास्यति from हष् in the बह् लुक्, Imperative 2nd Per. singular, the हि being changed to धि (VI. 4. 101). The substitutes are four भ, ष, ह and ध, and their respective sthānins are also four, i. e. ब, ग, ङ and द् ; so that ह is the substitute of ङ ; but, as a matter of fact, ह never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no ह substitution.

द्व्यस्तथोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यः, त, थोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्य इति इधातिः कृतविधिनो निर्दिश्यते । तस्य झलन्तस्य षष्ः स्थाने भष् आदेशो भवति तकार-
यकारयोः परतभकारान् स्थोत्र परतः ॥

38. For the द्व् of द्व्य (the reduplicated form of धा) substituted ध, before the affixes beginning with त, थ, स and before ष्वन् ॥

The word द्व्य is taken in the sūtra as the reduplicated form of धा इधाति and not the root द्व्य धात्वे of Bhuādi class, as षष् intervenes there. By the word च we draw in the words स and ष्व ॥ Thus धत्तः, धत्थ्यः, धत्सः, धत्स्वः, धत्स्वन् ॥ By the express injunction of this sūtra, the elided भ is not

considered as sthānivat. The last sūtra could not have applied to ह् for two reasons. 1st. It does not begin with a ह् letter, for the real reduplicate is ध्, and ह् is merely a substitute, and is considered asiddha. 2ndly. The form ह् does not end in a jhash consonant, but in a vowel ह्, and though this ह् is elided before these affixes, yet the lopa would be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of च in this sūtra. See contra, the vārtika in Mahābhāṣya.

The word हलि is understood here, and so also ह्यन्तस्य; and there can be no affix, but begins with त् or थ्, that can come after ह् ॥ Why do we employ then the words 'before त् and थ्'? Had we not used these, the sūtra would have referred to त् and थ् only, as being in immediate proximity, and the च draws them in. According to Padamanjari the words तथोच could have been dispensed with: for before स् and ष्, the च change would have taken place by the last sūtra, whilst by this sūtra, the same change would have taken place before all other हल्-beginning affixes, and such affixes that can come after ह् are त् or थ्-beginning affixes.

The word jhash is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to ह् then only, when it assumes the form of ह्, by the elision of हा; and hence not here हधाति ॥

हलां जशान्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलां, जशः, अन्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलां अद्य आदेशो भवन्ति पदस्थान्ते वर्त्तमानानाम् ॥

39. A corresponding ज्, ख्, ग्, ङ् or ढ् is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As बाग् अन्, श्लिह् अन्, अग्निचिद् अन्, विदुर् अन् ॥ The word श्लिह् is formed by changing the ह् of लिह् to ङ् first, and then changing this ङ् to ङ्, a jaś-letter.

The word अन्त 'at the end' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛitti of हलि ceases. Thus वस्ता, वस्तुम्, वस्तव्यम् ॥

The exceptions to this have been given in VIII. 2. 30 &c, and VIII. 2. 66. At an avasāna or Pause, a च् consonant may be substituted for a हल् by VIII. 4. 56.

ह्यस्तथोर्लो ५धः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्यः, त-थोः, धः, अधः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्य उन्तयोस्तकारथकारयो स्थाने धकार आदेशो भवति ॥

40. ध् is substituted for त् or थ् coming after ह्, म्, घ्, ङ् or थ् (jhash), but not after the root धा (ह्) ॥

Thus from लम् we have लढा, लढ्यम्, लढ्यव्यम्, अलढ, अलढाः ॥

The म् of लम् is changed to ङ् by VIII. 4. 53. From दुह्:—दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, अदुग्ध, अदुग्धाः ॥ The ह् is changed to घ् by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ग् by VIII. 4. 53.

From लिङ्:—लेढा, लेढुम्, लेढव्यम्, अलीढ, अलीढाः ॥ In लेङ् &c, the ङ is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and ष changed to ढ by VIII. 4. 41, before which the preceding ङ is elided by VIII. 3. 13.

From बुध्:—बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम्, अहुद्ध, अहुद्धाः ॥ For the ष of बुध् there is substituted ढ by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say "but not after the root धा"? Observe धत्तः, धत्थः ॥

षढोः कः सि ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षढोः, कः, सि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारढकारयोः ककारादेशो भवति सकारे परतः ॥

41. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Thus for ष of विष् we have विषेक्षते, अविष्यत्, विविक्षति ॥ For ढ of लिङ् (लिङ् VIII. 2. 31) we have लेक्षति, अलेक्षत्, लिलिक्षति ॥

For the स of the affix ल्य &c, is substituted ष by VIII. 3. 59.

Why do we say "before स"? Observe पिनष्टि, लेष्टि ॥

रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रदाभ्याम्, निष्ठातः, नः, पूर्वस्य, च, दः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति । पूर्वस्य षकारस्य ॥

42. After र and द्, for the त्त of the Participial suffix त्त and तत्वत्, there is substituted न, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding द् ॥

After र:—आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विधीर्णम्, निगीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥

After द्:—भिन्नः, भिन्नवान्, छिन्नः, छिन्नवान् from भिद् and छिद् ॥

Why do we say "after र and द्"? Observe कृतः, कृतवान् ॥ The word र here does not denote the common *sound* र, which would include ऋ also, but the consonant र ॥ But even if र् be taken a common sound-name including र् and ऋ, yet the न् change does not take place in कृत &c, because between त्त and the र्-sound, there intervenes vowel-sound इ, for ऋ is sounded not like pure र्, but र्+a vowel sound.

Why do we say "of the Participial suffix"? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥

Why do we say "for the त्त"? Observe चरित्, हरित् ॥ Here the त्त of the Nishthā does not follow *immediately* after र, the augment इद् intervenes.

Why do we say "of the preceding"? The succeeding द् will not be changed. As भिन्नवद्भ्याम्, भिन्नवद्भिः ॥

In the word कर्त्तः the descendant of कृतः the त्त of Nishthā is immediately preceded by र, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛiddhi, by which कृ is changed to कार्, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of न change, the र् so obtained is invalid.

संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदेः, आतः, धातोः, यण्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबन्धादिर्बो धातुराकारान्तो षष्वात् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

43. For the त् of the Nishṭhā there is substituted न, after a root ending in आ and commencing with a conjunct consonant, if the latter contain a semi-vowel.

Thus from द्वा we have प्रद्वाणः, प्रद्वाणवान् ॥ ग्लानः, ग्लानवान् from ग्ल ॥ These roots द्वा and ग्ल end in आ, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल ॥

Why do we say "beginning with a double-consonant"? Observe द्वातः, द्वातवान् ॥

Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe व्युतः, व्युतवान्; प्लुतः, प्लुतवान् ॥

Why do we say "after a root"? Observe निर्वातः, निर्वातः ॥ For the roots here द्वा and द्वा do not begin with a conjunct consonant, and that which is a conjunct i. e. र्वा and र्वा is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

Why do we say "having a षष् or semi-vowel"? Observe स्नातः, स्नातवान् ॥

ल्लादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लू-आदिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लूम् छेदने इन्धितव्यमिति वृ वरण इति यावत् वृत्कारणेन समापिता ल्लादयो गृह्यन्ते । तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लूकारस्वादिभ्यः निष्ठातकारस्य वृत्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दुग्धोर्विधिभेदेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पुत्रो विनाशइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सिनोतेर्मासकर्मकर्तृकत्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

44. The त् of Nishṭhā is changed to न, after the roots लू and those that follow it.

These roots belong to Kryādi class, and commence from लूम् छेदने (IX. 13) and end with वृ वरणे (IX. 32).

Thus लूनः, लूनवान्, धूनः, धूनवान्, जीनः, जीनवान् from ज्या the vocalisation is by VI. 1. 16.

Vart:—After a root ending in लू or लू and after a root of Luādi class, the त् of the affix क्तिन् is changed to न्, like as in Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्षिः, गीर्षिः, क्षीर्षिः, लूनिः, पूनिः ॥ These are from लू (IX. 26), वृ (IX. 28), वृ (IX. 18), लू and पूम् ॥

Vart:—The vowel of the roots दु गतौ (Bhu. 991) and शु (Bhu. 997), are lengthened before the Nishṭhā which is changed to न ॥ As भावूनः, दिगूनः ॥

Vart:—The न change takes place after पूम् 'to destroy' (Bhu. 1015). As पूना वषाः = विनष्टाः ॥ But पूतं धान्यं from पूम् 'to purify' (IX. 12).

Vart:—The same change takes place after the root सि बन्धने of Svādi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As सिनो मासः स्वधनेव i.e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. बन्धमानः पिण्डीक्रियमाणो मासो, यदा दध्वादिभ्यश्जन वधेन तत्रानुकूल्यं प्रतिपद्यते तदाऽयम् प्रयोगः ॥ But

when not used in this sense, we have सिता पाद्येन सूकरी ॥ Moreover, the प्राप्त must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सितो प्राप्तो देवस्तेन ॥

ओदितञ्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारितो धातो रुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

45. The ण of Nishṭhā is changed to न, after a root, which has an indicative ओ in the Dhātupāṭha.

Thus ओलृञ्जी—लृग्न्ः, लृग्न्वान्, ओविञ्जी—उङ्गिन्ः, उङ्गिन्वान् ॥ ओप्यायी वृद्धौ :—आ-पीनः, आ पीनवान् ॥

The roots सूङ् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) &c. are considered as ओदिन् ॥ Thus, सून्ः, सून्वान्; दूङ्—दून्ः, दून्वान्; शीङ्—शीनः, शीनवान्; डीङ्—डीनः, डीनवान्; धीङ्—धीनः, धीनवान्; मीङ्—मीनः, मीनवान्; रीङ्—रीणः, रीणवान्, लीङ्—लीनः, लीनवान्, व्रीङ्—व्रीणः, व्रीणवान् ॥

क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धातोर्दीर्घादुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

46. The ण of Nishṭhā is changed to न, after क्षि, when the root-vowel is lengthened.

Thus क्षीणाः क्लेशाः; क्षीणो जाल्मः; क्षीणस्तपस्वी ॥ The vowel of क्षि is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

Why do we say 'when the vowel is lengthened'? Observe अक्षितमसि नामशेषाः ॥ The word अक्षितं is formed with ऋ in the sense of भाव and means 'imperishable'. The Nishṭhā being added in the sense of ण्यन्, there is no lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 60.

The root ऋ includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निषांसगलौः ॥ As क्षितः कामो मया ॥ See also the commentary of Sāyana on अक्षितोऽतिः सनेष्टिं वाजमिन्द्रः सष्टिर्णि ॥ (Rig I. 5. 9).

Obj:—The form क्षियः in the sūtra is the Genitive singular of the root-noun क्षी ending in long ई, and will denote the root क्षी ending in long ई according to the maxim प्रकृतित्ववचुकरणं भवति "an imitative name (as क्षी here) is like its original (the root क्षी)". What is then the necessity of employing the word दीर्घात् in the sūtra? For had the root क्षि with short इ been meant, the form would have been क्षेः ॥

Ans.—The dhātu imitative noun though taking इयङ् (VI. 4. 77) as in क्षियः, includes the dhātu ending in short इ also, as in sūtra VI. 4. 59, 60 where ऋ ending in short इ is taken.

Q. If a root ending in short vowel may also be indicated by an imitative name, declined with इयङ् augment, then why is the root ऋ exhibited in sūtra I. 3. 19 as जेः instead of जियः i. e. the sūtra ought to have been वि पराभ्यां जियः and not वि पराभ्यां जेः ?

Ans. Here the word जि is not used as a dhātu-imitative word, there is no intention here to denote the verbal idea of the particular act connoted by the root जि; on the contrary, it simply expresses the mere form जि ॥

इयो ऽस्पृशो ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयः, अ-स्पृशो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयात्तेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यास्पर्शे नकारादेशो भवति ॥

47. The Nishṭhâ त् is changed to न after इयै, but not when the Participle denotes 'cold'.

Thus शीनं घृतम्, शीनो मेघः, शीना वसा; but शीतं वर्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतशुक्रम् ॥ The ष् of इया is vocalised to ई by VI. I. 24.

The prohibition applies when the noun is an adjective and means 'cold'; and not when it means a disease. Therefore we have प्रतिशीनः with न change.

The word स्पर्श is a guna word formed by च्च्, and denotes the particular guna or sensation to be sensed through the organ of touch. In this sense it is derived from the root स्पृश संस्पर्शने ॥ It also denotes a disease, derived from स्पृश उपतापे ॥ There is nothing to show, what स्पर्श is meant in the sūtra. Explanation is the only refuge here.

अञ्चो ऽनपादौने ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चः, अञ्-अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चतेरुत्तरपरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेषपादानं तच् भवति ॥

48. The Nishṭhâ त् is changed to न, after अञ्च्, but not when it is in connection with an Ablative case.

Thus समकौ शकुनेः पशो = सङ्गतौ; तस्मान् पशवो न्यक्ताः ॥

Why do we say 'when not in construction with an Ablative case'? Observe उदक्तशुद्धकं कृपात् = उद्धृतं 'drawn out'.

The word व्यक्तम् is from the root अञ्च् व्यक्तिसंज्ञाप कान्तिगतिषु, and not from the root अञ्च्; and hence the Nishṭhâ is not changed.

द्विवो ऽविजिगीषायाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विवः, अ-विजिगीषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव उच्चारस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति अविजिगीषायामर्थे ॥

49. The Nishṭhâ त् is changed to न, after दिव्, when the sense is not that of 'play'.

The word विजिगीषा means "desire of conquest or gain", but here it means "gambling".

Thus भाषूनः = औसरिकः, परिशूनः = क्षीणः ॥ Why do we say. "when it does not mean to play"? Observe द्यूतं वर्तते ॥ Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (vijigishā) over the opponent.

निर्वाणो ऽघाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-घाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वाण इति निस्पृहात्तेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते । न चेषात्ताधिकारो वाच्यर्थो भवति ॥

50. The word निर्वाण is irregularly formed by changing the Nishṭhâ त to न, when the sense is not that of 'wind'.

The word निर्वाण is formed from the root वा, with the preposition निर and the Participial affix त् ॥ Thus निर्वाणोऽग्निः, = उपशान्तः, निर्वाणः प्रदीपः, निर्वाणो भिक्षुः = उपरतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning "the wind"? Observe निर्वाणो वातः, निर्वाणं वातेन ॥

In the sentences निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेन, निर्वाणोऽग्निर्वातेन, the न change has taken place, because the location of the verb वा is in the प्रदीप and अग्नि, and not in the वात, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above वृत्ति uses the words "if the sense of the verb वा does not govern वात in the locative case".

शुष्बः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्बः, कः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शुषेर्जातोरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्व ककारादेशो भवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root शुष् ॥

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवान् ॥

पचो घः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पचः घः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पचेर्जातोरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्व घकारादेशो भवति ॥

52. घ is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root पच् ॥

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

क्षायो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षायः, मः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेधातोरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्व मकारादेशो भवति ॥

53. म is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root क्षे ॥

Thus क्षामः, क्षामवान् ॥

प्रस्त्योन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्त्यः, अन्यत रस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वात् स्थायतेरुत्तरस्व निष्ठातकारस्वान्वतरस्थां मकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. म is optionally substituted for the Nishṭhâ त, after the root स्त्यै preceded by प्र ॥

Thus प्रस्तीनः or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीमवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when न does not come, we first vocalise the root स्त्या into स्ती, and then add त् ॥ Had Samprasâraṇa not taken place first, then the Nishṭhâ त् would have been changed to न after स्त्या by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasâraṇa is

once made, the root no longer has a semi-vowel and so there remains no occasion for the application of VIII. 2. 43. See VI. 1. 23 for vocalisation.

अनुपसर्गात्कुलक्षीबकशोऽल्लाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, कुल-क्षीब-कश-
उल्लाघाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुल क्षीब कश उल्लाघ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते न अनुपसर्गादुक्तं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्कुलसंकुलव्योक्ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. The irregular Participles कुल, क्षीब, कश and उल्लाघ are formed then only, when no Preposition precedes them.

The word कुल is derived from the root अिफला विचरणे the त is changed to ल ॥ The change of अ to उ (VII. 4. 88) and the want of इद् augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before क्तवत् also, as कुलवान् ॥

The affix लृ is elided after the roots क्षीब, कश् and उल्—लाष्, and the augment इद् is prohibited; this is the irregularity in क्षीबः, कशः and उल्लाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रकुलः सुमनसः, प्रक्षीबितः, प्रकशितः, प्रोल्लाघितः ॥ In the case of लाष्, prepositions other than उल् are prohibited.

Or the augment इद् is added, and then इल् is elided from क्षीबितः &c. See VIII. 2. 3 *vart.*

Vart.—The forms उल्कुलः and संकुलः should be enumerated. Here त is changed to ल, though the root has taken a Preposition.

In the word परिकुशः, the word परि is not a Preposition with regard to the verb कश्; परिगतः कशः = परिकुशः ॥ So that परि is upasarga of the verb गतः understood, hence we have the form कशः ॥

नुद्विदोन्दब्राघ्राहीभ्यो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुद, विद, उन्द, ब्रा,
घ्रा, हीभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नुद विद उन्द वा ब्रा ही इत्येतेभ्य उकारत्वं निघातकारत्वं गकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Kārikā:—येत्सु विदितो निघा विद्यतेर्विज इष्यते ।

विद्येर्विजम् विसम् भोगे विजम् विन्दते ॥

56. The Nishṭhâ त may optionally be changed to न, after नुद, विद, उन्द, ब्रा, घ्रा, ही ॥

Thus नुनः or नुनः, विनः or वितः, सनुनः or सनुनः, बाणः or नातः, प्राणः or प्रातः, हीणः or हीतः ॥

With regard to ही, the न change was not ordained by any rule, and so it is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. With regards to others, the न change would have *always* taken place by VIII. 2. 42 and 43, this makes it optional.

The root विद विचरणे of Rudhādi is to be taken here, and not the other विद roots. Thus the following: *Kārikā*

The Nishthā of विद्—वेत्ति of Adādi class is विदितः; (2) of विद्—विद्यते of Divādi class is विन्नः only; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विन्नः; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both विन्नः and विन्नः ॥ The Tudādi विद् has also the form विन्नः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्याख्यापृमूर्च्छिमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्च्छि, मदाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या ख्या पृ मूर्च्छि मद् इत्येतेषां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारपेक्षो न भवति ॥

57. The Nishthā त is not changed to न after ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्च्छि and मद् ॥

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूर्त्तः, पूर्त्तवान्, मूर्त्तः, मूर्त्तवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

This debars the न change prescribed by VIII. 2. 42, 43.

The root मूर्च्छि is exhibited in the sūtra in its lengthened form; the root वृच्छि is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the च्छ is elided before त् by VI. 4. 21.

वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विदेर्लाभार्थापुत्तरस्य क्तस्य नत्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्ययं चाभिधेये ॥

58. The irregularly formed Participle वित्त denotes 'possessions' and 'renowned'.

This is derived from विदत् लभे of Tudādi class, the त् is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus वित्तमस्य बहु = धनमस्य बहु 'he has much riches'. Because riches are enjoyed (मुञ्चते), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' *par excellence*.

In the sense of 'renowned', we have वित्तोऽयं मनुष्यः "this man is renowned or famous". Here वित्तः = प्रतीतः ॥ 'प्रतीते = प्रत्ययः ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of 'possessions' and 'famous'? Observe विन्नः ॥

मित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्तम्, शकलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चेत्तन्नयति ॥

59. The word मित्त is irregularly formed in the sense of 'a' fragment, a portion'.

Thus मित्तं तिष्ठति, मित्तं प्रपतति ॥ This is synonymous with शकल ॥ The root-meaning of विद् is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a *rudhi* word. The regular form is मित्तं under VIII. 2. 42.

ऋणमाधमर्ष्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्ष्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋइत्येतस्माद्धातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारे निपात्यते आधमर्ष्यविषये ॥

60. The word ऋण is irregularly formed in the sense of 'debt.'

It is derived from ऋ, the त् is changed to न ॥ The word अधमर्ष्य is compounded from अधम ऋणे "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—

i.e. a debtor. This nipātana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is *not* in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is **आधमर्णम्** or "indebtedness:"

If this is so, then the word **उत्तमर्णः** 'creditor' cannot be formed? This is no valid objection. For **आधमर्ण** is illustrative only of something to be paid hereafter, in consideration of something formely received; and thus includes **उत्तमर्ण** also; which also has been so employed by the author himself in **धारेरुत्तमर्णः** (I. 4. 35).

The word **ऋण** we use in sentences like **ऋणे वृशति, ऋणं धारयति ॥**

Why do we say when meaning 'debt' ? Observe **ऋतं वक्ष्यामि, मानृतम् ॥**

नसत्तनिषत्तानुत्तप्रतूर्त्सूर्त्तगूर्त्तानि छन्त्सि ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नसत्त, निषत्त, अनुत्त, प्रतूर्त्त, सूर्त्त, गूर्त्तानि, छन्त्सि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्त्सि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

61. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—**nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratūrta, sūrta, gūrta.**

The words **नसत्त** and **निषत्त** are derived from the root **सद्** preceded by **न** and **नि**, and there is not the **न** change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus **नसत्तमञ्जसा ॥** In secular literature we have **नसन्नम् ॥** So also **निषत्तः** in the Vedas, but **निषण्णः** in secular literature. The word **अनुत्तः** is from **उन्द्** with the negative **अन् ॥** The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As **अनुत्तमा ते मघवन् (= अनुन्नम्) ॥ प्रतूर्त्तम्** is from **स्वर्** or **सूर्व**, as **प्रतूर्त्तं वाजिनम् (= प्रतूर्णम्) ॥** When it is derived from **स्वर्** then **ऊर्** is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from **सूर्व** then VI. 4. 21 is applied. **सूर्त्त** is from **सृ**, the **ऋ** is changed to **उ** irregularly, as **सूर्त्तागावः=सृतागावः ॥ गूर्त्तं** is from **गूर्**, as **गूर्त्ता भवृत्तस्य (= गूर्णं) ॥**

क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्यति वर्त्तते । क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र परान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते । क्विन्प्रत्ययो अस्माद्धातोः स क्विन्प्रत्ययः, तस्य परस्वालोन्त्यस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

62. A stem formed with the affix **क्विन्** under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

The word **परस्य** is understood here. The word **क्विन्प्रत्यय** is a Bahuvrihi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As **घृतस्युक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्युक्, मन्त्रस्युक् ॥**

The sūtra could have been **क्विन्ः कुः**; the word **प्रत्यय** is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the **क्** of **क्विन्** may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the **क्विन्** affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than **क्विन् ॥**

Thus the roots सूच् and हृच् take क्तिन् to form सूक् and हृक् nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, मानो भस्नाक् मानो भस्नाक्, where भस्नाक् and भस्नाक् are the Aorist of सूच् and हृच् ॥ The augment अद् is not elided, though the मा is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The ईद् augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment अन् is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus अद् + सूच् + सिच् + तिप् = अस्नाच् (VI. 1. 58) = अस्नाक् (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been अच् by VIII. 2. 36. So also in हृच्, हृत्, the हृ is changed to a guttural, though the noun हृच् is a क्तिप् formed noun and not formed by क्तिन्; and this is so, because the verb हृच् does take क्तिन् also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in हृच् from the root सूच् with क्तिप्? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

In gutturalisation, ज्ञ is changed to न, and ज्ञ to ख, which both become क by वाचसानि (VIII. 4. 56)

नशोर्षा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नरोः, घा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येति वर्त्तते ॥ नघोः पदस्य वा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

63. The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. As सा वै जीवनवाहृतिः (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or सा वै जीवनगाहृतिः ॥ According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root नघ has taken क्तिप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संपदादि class.

जीवस्य नाघः = जीवनक् or जीवनद् ॥ The gutturalisation optionally debars the च change of VIII. 2. 36. When the च change takes place, this च is changed to ह by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मोनो घातोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, नः, घातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य घातोः पदस्य मकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य क्तिप्सलोः क्तिप्सलोः क्तिप्सलोः क्तिप्सलोः ॥

64. न is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final म of a root.

As प्रज्ञान्, प्रज्ञान्, प्रज्ञान् ॥ These are formed by adding क्तिप् to the roots ज्ञान्, ज्ञान्, and ज्ञान् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of न-ending roots"? Observe मित्, डित् ॥

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe इवम्, क्तिप् ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतामौ, प्रतामः where म is not at the end of a word.

म्बोञ्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, घोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवकारयोश्च परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारादेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and च ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्म the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम् ॥ The षप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also अगन्मान् with इवसु, the augment इद् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससञ्जुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सञ्जुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सञ्जुष् इत्यंतस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

66. For the final स्र् and for the ष् of सञ्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अग्निरश्च, वायुरश्च ॥ So also सञ्जुर्कृषिभिः, सञ्जुर्वेदिभिः ॥ सञ्जुष् is derived from ज्जुष् with the affix कृष् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means समीप्तिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाञ्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यञ् ; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाष् ॥ The affix ष्विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाञ् is also formed by ष्विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाष् and अवयाञ् are formed. These words take the affix इस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken इस्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अवयवस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे रक्यशाः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्नित्येतस्य पश्च्य रुर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रविधौ रूपरात्रिरयन्तोरूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

68. र is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निशाचः, हे दीर्घाहोऽपेति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada iii the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārt:—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रयन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरयन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with रं; as अहो रन्वम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

रोऽस्युपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-स्युपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहनित्येतस्य रेफादेशो भवत्यस्युपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्षवाति, अहर्षुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ Here ह-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this ह-called र् and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The ह-called र is changed to ङ by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्षवाति and अहर्षुङ्क्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa, we may say that there is a case - ending here also ? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुपता लुप्ते प्रत्यय लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa does not apply to the substitution of र for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लृक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लृप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे दीर्घाहोऽत्र, हे दीर्घाहो निशाच. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अन्नरुधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नस् ऊधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसो राजन्नुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पर्यादिभूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both ह and र are substituted for the final of amnas, ūdhas, and avas.

Thus अन्न एव or अन्नरेव, ऊध एव or ऊधरेव; अन्न एव or अन्नरेव ॥ When ह is substituted for the finals, this ह is replaced by र by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अन्नस् means 'a little', and अन्नस् 'protection'.

Vart.—ह and र both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतो राजन् ॥

Vart.—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by ह or र before पति &c. As. अहर्पतिः or अहर्पतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पतिः, गी × पतिः; धूर्पति, धूः पतिः, धू × पतिः ॥ Here र is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र ॥

भुवम्न महाव्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहृतेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहृते छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, ह and र may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahā-vyāhṛiti.

Thus भुवत्यन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahā-vyāhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gāyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyāhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are भूः and स्वः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahā-vyāhṛiti? Observe भुवो विश्वेषु भुवनेषु वृत्तियः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लृट्) of the root भू, without guṇa of the root, and the अद् augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

घसुसंसुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, संसु, ध्वंसु, अनडुहाम्, दः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सससुषोरुत्थितः स इति वर्त्तते । वस्वन्तस्य परस्य सकारान्तस्य संसु ध्वंसु अनडुह इत्येतेषां च दकारोद्यो भवति ॥

72. व् is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of संस्, ध्वंस् and अनडुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by व् ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As क्वस् and ध्वस् *always* end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनडुह् ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विह्वद्भ्याम्, विह्वदाभिः, पपिवद्भ्याम्, पपिवदाभिः with वस् affix. क्वस्—इत्सालद्भ्याम्, इत्सालदाभिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). ध्वस्—पर्णध्वद्भ्याम्, पर्णध्वदाभिः ॥ अनडुह्—अनडुह्द्भ्याम्, अनडुह्दाभिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विह्वान्, पपिवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to ह् ॥

In the case of वस्, the ह् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विह्वद्भ्यां this ह् debarbs रु; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विह्वान् also? This rule sets aside रु, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनडुह् the न् is not changed to ह्? By the very fact, that नुम् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to ह्: otherwise नुम् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to ह्, and we should get the form अनडुह् by this rule without नुम् ॥

Obj:—If this be so, that the उष् is not changed to ह्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनडुह् अह्, this नुम् should not be changed into रु by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (अं विधिं प्रति उपदेशोऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्वाप्यते, यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव नासौ वाप्यते) ॥ With regard to ह् change, the नुम् vidhi is *useless* (anarthaka), with regard to रु change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पदस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विह्वंसी and विह्वंसः ॥

तिप्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अन्-अस्तेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य अनस्तेर्कार आदेशो भवति ॥

73. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending त्ति (न्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचक्राद् भवान्, अन्वशाद् भवान्, from the roots चक्रास् and शास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before तिप्'? Observe चक्रास् formed by चिप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सलिलं सवर्म्
आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईद् is not
added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुर्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, धाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति दकारो वा ॥

74. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the
स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स्
stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचकास् स्वम् or अचकात् स्वम्, अन्वशास् स्वम् or अन्वशात् स्वम् ॥ For the
रु is first substituted visarjaniya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent
sūtras : so also the word रु ॥

दृश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति दकारो वा ॥

75. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the
final द् of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such द्
stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् स्वम् or अभिनस् स्वम्, अच्छिनत् स्वम् or अच्छिनस् स्वम् ॥

वॉरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वॉः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate द् or उ is lengthened, when the
final र् or ष् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus नीः, घृः, वृः, वॉदीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in
द् ॥ Of roots ending in उ, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अविभर् भवान्, here
the द् of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of म in the above exam-
ple अविभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore द् and उ
are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरौ, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in र् or ष्, the penultimate
द् or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also,
शीघ्रीत्, सीघ्यति ending in ष् ॥

The phrase "of the *root*", is understood here also. Therefore not here, दिव्यति and चतुर्थति, which are derived from the *nouns* दिव and चतुर i. e. दिव-मिच्छति = दिव्यति, and चतुर इच्छति = चतुर्थति ॥

The phrase इकः "of the vowels इ or उ" is understood here also. Therefore not here, स्मर्यते, भव्यम् ॥

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada: but to cases where र् or र् are in the middle of a pada or word.

उपधायां च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधाभूतौ वी रेफवकारौ ह्रस्वौ तयोरुपधाया इको षीर्षो भवति ॥

78. The short इ or उ of a root is lengthened, when the verb has र् or र् as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛitti of हलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a र् or र् as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus वृत्ता, वृत्तिता, मूर्त्ता, मूर्त्तिता. वृषी, वृषिता. धूर्षी, धूर्षिता ॥

The र् or र् must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, चिरि, जिरि are roots having a penultimate र्, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have चिरिणोति, जिरिणोति ॥

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in रिच्यतुः, रिच्युः or विच्यतुः, विच्युः Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गतो and वी गतो &c? Here the इ of the abhyāsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

Ans.—The ञप् substitute of इ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthānivat, to इ, and therefore, the र् or र् is considered as *not* to be followed by a *consonant*, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the ञप् substitute is taught in angādhikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence ञपदिशः is considered as asiddha. Therefore र् and र् are not followed by a consonant (for र् is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्थितु formed with ञप् affix from the Denominative (बन्धप्) root चतुर्थे ॥ Here इद् is added before नृप् as चतुर्थे + इ + त् and then ञ is elided, चतुर्थे + इ + त् ॥ Here the elision of ञ is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, र् is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिशीष्णा (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-दिष् is added कनिन् by Uṇ I. 156, and we have प्रतिदिवन् ॥ To this is added हा (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिदिवन् + हा, and ञ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतिशीष्णा ॥ The lengthening takes place here, the elision of ञ is not considered here as sthānivat, and so र् becomes penultimate. In fact,

here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

Q.—Well, let it not be sthānivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga : and so therefore, there would be no lengthening ?

Ans.—The maxim of असिद्ध बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग should not be applied here: because it is an *anītya* rule.

The word जितिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix कित् added to the root ज् (जिर्), the र् being changed to ष (Uṇ V. 49). So also किरिः and गिरिः are formed by the Uṇādi affix कि added to कृ and गृ (Uṇ IV. 143). The Genitive Dual of which is किर्योः and गिर्योः ॥ There is no lengthening in जितिः, किर्योः and गिर्योः, on the maxim that the Uṇādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उणादयोऽप्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि) ॥

न भकुर्छुराम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भ, कुर, छुराम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकारान्तस्य भस्य कुर छुर इत्येतयोश्च दीर्घो न भवति ॥

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or ष् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कुर and छुर ॥

Thus दुर्बः (दुरं बहति IV. 4. 77 or दुरि साधुः) ॥ Similarly कुयान्, घुर्यान् ॥ The latter is Benedictive of छुर उर्ये ॥

Why have we qualified the word ष by saying that it must end in ् or ष्? Observe प्रतिदीक्षा, प्रतिदीक्षे ॥ For here the stem which ends in ष् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in ष् but in ष् ॥

अवसो ऽसेर्दावु दो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवसः, अ-सेः, दात्, उ, दः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवसो ऽसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य दात्परस्य उवर्णादेशो भवति इकारस्य च मकारः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अवसो ऽनास इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—अवसोऽन्ने पृथङ् सुत्वं के चिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।

के चिदन्यसदेशस्य नेत्येके ऽसेर्हि दृश्यते ॥

80. When the pronoun अवस् does not end in स्, then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for द् ॥

Thus अमुन्, अम्, अमून्, अमुना, अमुन्धात्, ॥ अद् is substituted for अवस् before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes अदा ॥ By the

present sūtra read with I. 1. 50, अद् is substituted for अद् and अद् for अद् ॥ The ङ which replaces one-mātrā vowel will be one-mātrā ङ i. e. short ङ, and the ङ which replaces a two-mātrā vowel will be a two-mātrā ङ i. e. long ङ ॥ See I. 1. 50.

Why do we say, "not ending in ङ"? Observe अद् इच्छति = अद्स्यति ॥ Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word अद्स्यति is understood here, and अद्सि before the affix ङ्य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the ङ change takes place, even when अद्सि is not a pada. As अद्स्यति ॥

Vart.—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that अद्स्यति which has no ओ, or ङ or र् ॥ So that the prohibition may apply to अद्स्यति, अद्स्यतिः कुलम् ॥ The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in र् ॥

In order to apply the prohibition to ओ and र् also, some explain the sūtra thus:—अः द्वैर्यस्य सोयमसिः, यच्च सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word असिः in the sūtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the स into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अद् ॥

When अद्स्यति takes the final-substitute अद्भि by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अद्ङ् takes क्तिन् ॥ We compound it with अद्स्यति, as अदाङ्ङाति ॥ अद्स्यति + अद्ङ् + क्तिन् = अद् + अद्भि + अद्ङ् + क्तिन् (VI. 3. 92) = अद्दद्भिः (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the ङ of अद्, and ङ् of अद्भि are both changed to ङ by the present sūtra; (2), the first ङ is not changed, but only ङ्; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अद्दद्भिः (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अद्दद्भिः, अद्दद्भिः ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्दद्भिः अद्दद्भिः, अद्दद्भिः ॥ (3) Lastly अद्दद्भिः, अद्दद्भिः, अद्दद्भिः ॥ The above verse summarises this:

"Some ordain that ङ should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ङ (in अलीकत्स्यते); others would have ङ only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for ङ्); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain असिः of the sūtra, by confining it to: VII. 2. 102." The first class interpret असिः by "that form of अद्स्यति which has no ङ"; and they do not apply the maxim अनन्यविकारेऽन्यस्येऽस्य कार्यं भवति "when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make ङ change only for ङ् which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word असिः in a different way altogether (अः अस्य सकारस्य सोऽयम् असिः) ॥

Why do we say अद् ' for the vowel after द ' ? Observe अद्दया, अद्दयोः, the final य as not changed to ङ ॥

एत ईद्वहुवचने ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः ईत्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्सो एकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारादेशो भवति एकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहुनामर्याना-
मुक्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the द् of अद्स्, there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अदे (or अने) अमीभिः for अदेभिः, अमीभ्यः for अदेभ्यः, अमीषाम् for अदेषाम्, अमीषु for अदेशु ॥ ए is changed to त् in अने &c.

The word बहुवचने in the sūtra does not mean the technical बहुवचन ; for that would have made the sūtra have this sense "when the affixes of the Plural number follow". In that case, we could not get the form अमी where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्यस्य, टेः, प्लुतः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत इति च उदात्त इति च एतन्नयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापावपरिसमाप्ते, वेदित
ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pāda), is always to be supplied : "the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i. e. "the last vowel (टि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (टि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says "In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Sūdra". We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning :—"In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Sūdra". As अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहं । मीं आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्तो ३ ॥

One adhikāra sets aside another adhikāra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikāra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikāra of the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16)? No, the adhikāra of पदस्य has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in भवन्तौ &c. the द् would be required to be changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 7. But it does not become so, because पदस्य manifests itself there.

The employment of the word "vākya" would not debar the anuvritti of पद्, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sūtra ?

The word वाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been पदस्य डेः &c. then *all* the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

The word हि is employed to indicate that the final *vowel* becomes pluta and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As अग्निर्विद्मत् ॥ Had हि not been used, the rule would have applied to words *ending* in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशुद्धे ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे, अ-शुद्धे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे नाम वदन्नाभिवाद्यमानो गुरुपिपं प्रयुङ्क्ते । तथाशुद्धविषये वदन्नाक्यं वदति तस्य डेः प्लुत इत्यसौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शिवानपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ असूत्रकेऽपि कोऽपि प्रतिषेधमिच्छन्ति ॥

इति ॥ अभिवादादक्ये अतः संकीर्णतं नाम गोत्रं वा तद् अथ प्रत्यभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तच्च प्लुत इत्येति ॥ वा० ॥ भोऽप्यजन्म विद्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation". The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहं is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तो ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Śūdra? Observe अभिवादे तुष्यजकोऽहं is said by a Śūdra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो आयुष्मान् एधि तुष्यजक!

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादे गार्ग्ये is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies:—भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गी! ॥

Vart:—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवादे स्यात्त्वहं भोः, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies आयुष्मान् एधि स्यात्त्वि ३ ॥ Then the

detractor says, Sthâlin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like daṇḍin, viz. he who has a sṅgāla or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, आयुष्मान् एषि स्यालित् but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says : असूयकस्त्वं जाल्म ! न त्वं प्रत्यभिवादनमर्हसि ; भिद्यस्व वृषल स्यालित् ! ॥ Here it is a curse, as well as a pun : i. e. "burst thou, O sinner ! like unto a cooking pot (sthâlin = sthali-vat).

Ishṭi :—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence ; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c. is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त क्लृप्तस्यसि ; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एषि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vart :—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽहं ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एषि देवदत्त भोः १ or (2) आयुष्मान् एषि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रवर्मान् भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एषि इन्द्रवर्मान् १ or (2) आयुष्मान् एषि इन्द्रवर्मान् ॥ Vaishya : अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानोषि इन्द्रपालित १ or आयुष्मानोषि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

दूराद्भूते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, हूते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्भूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति स चौदाक्षः ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ वाक्यस्यान्ते यत्र सम्बोधनपदं भवति, तत्र अयं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word दूरात् is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word हूतं means 'calling', 'addressing'. Thus आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता ३ ॥ आगच्छ भो माणवक यज्ञदत्ता ३ ॥ The word 'distance' is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as "distance" for the purposes of this sūtra.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here also सन्नून् पिब देवदत्ता ३, पलायस्व देवदत्ता ३ ॥ This pluta sentence becomes eka-śruti by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say "from a distance"? Observe आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त !

Ishṭi :—This prolation takes place only then, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here: देवदत्त आगच्छ ॥

हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ है, हे, प्रयोगे, है, हयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हैह्ययोगे वृणद्धूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तत्र हैह्ययोगेव प्लुतो भवति ॥

85. When the words है and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As है ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त है ३ ॥ हे ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे ३ ॥

The repetition of the words है and हे in the sūtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolation takes place even when है and हे do not stand at the end of a sentence.

गुरोरनुतोन्नत्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अन्-ऋतः, अन्नत्यस्य, अपि, एक, एकस्य, प्राचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारवर्जितस्य गुरोरन्नत्यस्यापिशब्दादन्नत्यस्यापि देरेकैकस्य सम्बोधने वर्त्तमानस्य प्लुतो भवति प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

86. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by VIII. 2. 83 to 84. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus हे^३ देवदत्त or देव^३ हे^३ दत्त or देवदत्त^३ ॥ Similarly with वै^३ ज्ञदत्त, यज्ञ^३ वै^३ ज्ञ or यज्ञदत्त^३ ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of व and ज्ञ in Devadatta and Yajñadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अन्तः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्णनि^३ च, कृष्णनि^३ च, but never कृ^३ ष्णनिच ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not दे^३ देवदत्त^३ ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all*.

As आयुष्मान् एषि देवदत्त ॥ Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali " सर्वे एव प्लुतः साहसमनिच्छता विभाषा कर्त्तव्यः " (Mahabhāshya VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus *all* rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राचाम् should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional pluta everywhere.

ओमभ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम्, अभ्यादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यादानं प्रारम्भः तत्र य ओम्सङ्घः तस्य प्लुतो भवति ॥

87. The vowel in ओम् is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्यादानं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओम् अग्निमीले पुनहितं यज्ञस्य देववृत्तिञ्च ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमिष्येतक्षरदुर्गीयधुपासीत (Chhândogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

ये यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, यज्ञ, कर्मणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ये इत्येतस्य यज्ञकर्माण प्लुतो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ये यजामह इत्यत्रैवायं प्लुत इत्यते ॥

88. The vowel of ये becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus येऽयजामहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये यजामह इति पञ्चाक्षरम् "Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables". Here it is simple recitation.

Ishti:—The word ये is pluta before यजामहे only. Therefore not so here: ये देवांसो विष्वेकांसस्य (Rig. I. 139. 11).

प्रणवष्टे ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणवः, टेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्माणि टेः प्रणव आदेशो भवति ॥

89. In a sacrificial work, ओम् is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम् ॥ It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter (टि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pâda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अपां रैतांसि जिन्वति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have अपां रैतांसि जिन्वतो^१म् ॥ So also for देवाश् जिन्वति सुस्रुः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवाश् जिन्वतो^१म् ॥

The word टि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛitti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम् replaces the *whole* last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had टि not been repeated, then by the rule of अलोऽन्यस्य the final *letter* only of the टि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in सुस्रुः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अपां रैतांसि जिन्वति ॥

याज्यान्तः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम च याज्याक्लाण्डे पच्यन्ते मन्वास्तिषामन्व्यो षष्टिः स हवते वज्रकर्मणि ॥

90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोमैर्विधेनाग्रयेः (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वामग्रे चकृषे हव्यवाहाश्च (Rig. X. 8. 6).

Why do we say 'at the end'? There are some Yājya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (ः) of every sentence would have become pluta, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word "anta" is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes pluta.

ब्रूहिप्रेष्यध्रौषड्धौषडावहानामादेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, ध्रौषद्, औषद्, आवहानाम्, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूहि प्रेष्य ध्रौषद् धौषद् आवह इत्येतेषामादेः प्लुतो भवति वज्रकर्मणि ॥

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, ध्रौषद्, धौषद् and आवह is pluta.

Thus अग्रयेऽनुब्रूहि (Maitr S. I. 4. 11), अग्रये गीमयानि (or 'न्) प्रेष्य, अस्तु ध्रौषद्; सोमस्याग्रे धीहीः धौषद्, अग्निर्धौषद् ॥

So also in पित्र्यान्मानुस्वधा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also अस्तुस्वधा ॥ The word धौषद् is illustrative of the six forms षषद्, धौषद्, वाषद्, धौषद्, वाषद्, वाषद् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह देवान् वज्रमानाव ; आवह जात वेदः ॥

अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीध्र, प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीध्रः प्रेषणमग्नीत्येषणम् तच्चादेः प्लुतो भवति परस्य च ॥

92. In an order given to Āgnīdhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛtvij) are four Adhvaryu, Udgātā, Hotā, Brahmā. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them : as shown below.

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL.

SUBORDINATE.

I.	½.	⅓.	¼.
Adhvaryu : (Yajur)	Pratiprasthātā	Nesthā (VI.4.11)	Unnetā.
Udgātā (Sāman)	Prastotā	Pratihartā	Subrahmanya.
Hotā (Rig) VI. 4. 11.	Maitrā varuṇa	Achchhāvāk	Potā (VI.4.11).
Brahmā (Atharvan)	Brāhmanāchchhāṅśī	Āgnīdhra	Grāvastuta.

The duty of Āgnīdhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Āgnīdhra to perform the functions of Āgnīdh, both syllable become pluta.

The word अग्नीन् प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीन्ः प्रेषणम् " a call or summon relating to Agnīdh duty. "

Thus आ ३ आ ३ वच, ओ ३ आ ३ वच ॥ The pluta takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्नीन्ः विद्मः; बर्हि स्तुणीहि ॥ Some, therefore, read the aunvṛitti of the word विभाषा from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction (viyavasthita vibhāṣā). Others say " all pluta rules are optional " (सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमानिच्छता विभाषा विज्ञेयः) ॥ In उद्धर ३ उद्धर, अभिहर ३ अभिहर, there is Vedic diversity.

The words 'relating to sacrificial work' (यज्ञकर्मणि) are understood here also. Therefore not in ओ आचव ॥

विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने; हेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा हेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.

Thus Q. अकार्षीः कर्तं देवदत्त ? Ans. अकार्षे ही ३ or अकार्षे हि ॥ Q. अलावीः
केदारं देवदत्त ? Ans. अलाविषं ही ३ or हि ॥

Why do we say " in answer to a question " ? Observe कर्तं करिष्यति हि ॥

Why do we say हेः " of हि " ? Observe करोमि ननु ॥

निगृह्यानुयोगे च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृह्य, अनु योगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमतात्प्रश्नान्नं निग्रहः ॥ अनुयोगस्तस्य मतस्याविष्कारणम् ॥ तत्र निगृह्यानुयोगे यद्वाक्यं वर्तते
तस्य हेः प्लुतो भवति विभाषा ॥

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word निग्रहः means the refutation of another's opinion. निगृह्य is a gerund, and means ' having refuted '. अनुयोगः is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sūtra literally means " Having refuted (it) when asserting (the same by way of censure). "

Thus an opponent asserts that " The word is not eternal. " (अनित्यः वाच्यः). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यः वाच्य इत्यर्थो ३ or अनित्य वाच्य इत्यस्य ॥ ' This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal '. Similarly अद्य आ-
अनित्यार्थो ३ or अद्य आज्ञमित्यस्य ॥ अद्यामावास्वेत्यर्थो ३ or अद्यामावास्वेत्यस्य ॥

In some texts of Kāsikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आग्नेडितम् भर्त्सने ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्नेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यादेशमन्वितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विर्वचनशुक्तं तत्त्वामोडितं द्वयत्वे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an *āmreḍita* Vocative is *pluta*, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes *pluta*. Thus चौरं चौरां घातिष्यामि त्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषलां बन्धशिष्यामि त्वा, एत्त्व एत्स्योः &c.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of the *sūtra* VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the *sentence* is not *pluta*, but of the *āmreḍita*.

Vṛtt :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be *pluta* by alternation. Thus चौरां चौर or चौरं चौरां ॥ The word *āmreḍita* is employed in the *sūtra* as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so *pluta* may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically *āmreḍita*.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङाकारुक्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङाकारुक्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमाकारुक्षं भर्त्सने द्वयत्वे ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes *pluta*, when the word *अङ्ग* is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूर्जां इदानीं ज्ञात्स्यसि आत्म ॥ अङ्ग व्याहरीं इ, इदानीं ज्ञात्स्यसि आत्म ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग रेवदन्ति निश्चा वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पच ॥

Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word *भर्त्सने* of the last *sūtra* is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीष्य, ओदनं ते शस्वामि ॥ Here *अङ्ग* has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रनापेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां टेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is *pluta*, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called *vichāra* or judgment. Thus होतव्यं सीधितस्व गृहा इ न होतव्यांश्च "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly तिष्ठेयूपाश्च, अनुग्रहे

पूर्वाऽह ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether द्रूपे तिष्ठेत् or द्रूपे भजुमहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं द्रुपस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा द्रुपं यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव ह्यवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि र्दृ १ रज्जुर्दु 'Is it a snake or a rope?' लोहो र्दृ १ कपोतोऽदु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणाभिप्रेक्ष्यं च तथाविद्येषोपास्तरस्य महणम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवणं यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise": It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus नां मे वेदि भोः, 1. इत्तं ते वयमि १ ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति १ ॥ 3. देववत्त भोः, किमात्प्या १ ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रमान्ताभिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रमान्तम्, अभिपूजितयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रमान्ते अभिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रमान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudatta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudatta.

Thus अगर्माऽः पूर्वाऽह् चामाऽह् अभिभूताऽह् or अगर्माऽः पूर्वाऽह् चामाऽह् पटाऽह् (i. e. अगमः पूर्वाह् चामाह् अभिभूते or पटो) ॥ The words अभिभूते, and पटो being finals in a

question, become anudatta as well as pluta. The other words अग्नः &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः स्वस्वसि माणवका ३ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudatta and pluta.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाच्यत्वे देवुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudatta and pluta, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अग्निचित् मात्राश्त् 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचित् मात्राश्त् 'may he shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चित् आहुः ॥ Here चित् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि माणवको भावात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतत्त्वे देवुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudatta and pluta.

The word anudatta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः त्विदासीत्, उपरि त्विदासीत् (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is pluta and udatta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudatta by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमात्रेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, मात्रे-डिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति मात्रेडिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्येमान् ॥

वा० ॥ अनुदात्तेषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy:—माणवकाश् माणवक, अभिरूपकाश् अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूपकम् ॥ Praise:—

माणवकांश्च माणवक, अंभिरूपकांश्च अंभिरूपक शोभनः स्वस्वसि ॥ Anger :—माणवकांश्च माणवक, अंभिरुपीतकांश्च अंभिरुपीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि ज्ञास्य ॥ Blame :—शान्तीकांश्च शान्तीक, आटीकांश्च आटीक रिक्ता ते वृत्तिः ॥

Vart :—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no pluta and svarita in one alternative As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियार्थाः प्रैषेषु तिङ्ङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्ङ-आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वारिति इति वर्त्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गन्धमानेषु तिङ्ङन्तामकाङ्क्षं वक्तव्यं स्वरितिः प्लुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वयं रयेन वीर्तिः, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति ॥ स्वयं जीवन् मुहुन्ते, उपाध्यायं सक्तुन् पावयति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction :—सुतांश्च लप्तीष्टांश्च धनं च तात ; छन्दोष्येषीष्टांश्च व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order :—कटं कुर्वं मां च गच्छ ; अवान् लुनीहि, सक्तुं च पिब ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe वीर्तिं ते आयुरस्तु ; अग्नीम् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्यस्यापि प्रभाष्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्यस्य, अपि, प्रभ, भाष्या-नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्यस्यापि अन्यस्यापि पदस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति प्रभे भाष्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here: and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have :—आगमांश्च पूर्वान् चामांश्च आग्निं भुतांश्च or पदांश्च ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अण्वि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *Ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and pluta *necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अण्विनांश्च पूर्वान्श्च मानान्श्च भोजः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अण्वि applies only to *ākhyāna*, so that in *ākhyāna* *all* words become svarita. But in *praśna*, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by *Kāśikā*, or *Padamanjari* or *Siddhanta Kaumudī*.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दूरादूतावितु प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवभूतावि इतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the pluta.

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ ॥ The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means "इ and उ are pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ" ॥

Thus ऐश्चिकायन, औश्चगव ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātra (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the pluta इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole pluta ऐ and औ will have *three* mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ इवेते i. e. वृत्ति गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the pluta of इ and उ will have *two* mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ए) and अ+उ (औ) are considered to have अ *half* mātra, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made pluta, so as to have two and a half (2½) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mātrās.

But according to *Patanjali*, this pluta of ऐ and औ has *four* mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātrā. The pluta of इ and उ will have

three mâtrás. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ, or the *whole* has *four* mâtrás. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mâtrás also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते पूर्वस्यार्धस्यादुत्तरस्येदुतौ ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो, अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदूराद्भूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उतौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्भूते द्युतविषयस्यार्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च द्युतः उत्तरस्थेकारोकारावादेशो भवतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा० ॥ प्रमान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादवाच्यान्तोषिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आनन्विते छन्दसि द्युतविकारोऽयं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragrhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, ओ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vârt:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vârt:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमाः पूर्वाश्च घानाश्च अमिभूताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ अत्र करोषि माणवकाश्च अमिभूताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं शीक्षितस्य गृह्याश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आयुष्यान् एषि अमिभूताश्च ॥ or पदाश्च ॥ So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उसामात्र वषामात्र सोमपृष्टाय वेधसे ।

स्तौमे विधेनामयाश्च ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is udatta, anudatta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudatta or svarita, and every where else, udatta. The इ and उ are of course, always udatta: because the anuvṛitti of udatta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते चालविष्णुमि त्वा आनच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्भूते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पदान्त should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, नङ् करेषि गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmasthāna affix छु is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe घोभने लङ् स्यःलङ् ॥

Vart:—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्राह पत्नीवाः सख्येन लङ् सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्यावच्चि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, घी, अच्चि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरित्युतोर्धकारवकारदेशौ भवतो ऽच्चि संहितायां विषये ॥

Kārikā:—किं तु यथा भवतीह न सिद्धं द्वाविदुतोर्धवयं विदधाति ।

तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलसीर्धविधी तु निवर्त्यौ ॥

इकं तु यथा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्तस्य वर्णं विदधात्यपवादम् ।

तेन तयोश्च न शाकलसीर्धो अपस्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted ए and ओ when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā.

Thus अग्राहवाचा, पदाहवाचा, अग्राहचिन्त्रम्, पदाहचक्रम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्राह, पदाह ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्राह इ इन्द्रम्, पदाह उ उक्त्वा in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको वपचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्तस्य सवर्णसीर्ध बाधनार्थं वपादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent एच् accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā:—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the वपादेश of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate ए and ओ substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Śākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that वृत्तश्च takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra ?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the वृत्त-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present इ and वृ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a pluta vowel. As मोइ इ इन्द्र = मोइ चिन्द्र ॥

Here इ is a Nipāta.

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

मनुषसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनु, वसोः, रु, सम्बुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च परस्य हरित्यवमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भवद्गवदपवतामोषावस्य ॥

1. For the final of the affixes मन् and वस्, there is substituted रु, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word संहितायां is understood here. A word ending in the affix मन् or वस्, changes its final त् or स् into र्, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मन्:—इन्द्रं मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमम् (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवो भेषिनं त्वा ॥ Here मरुत्वः is Vocative Sg. of मरुत्वन् and हरिवः of हरिवन्, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The म् of मन् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 10 ; 15. The base मरुन् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix सु (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68 ; the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the न् (of वुन् VII. 1. 70) is changed to र् by this sūtra. So also इन्द्रायाहि त्तुजानः उपब्रह्मणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस्:—मीद्वस्तोकाश्च तनयाव वृळ (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाहः ॥ See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीद्वान्, साहान् with क्सु ॥

Why do we say 'of मन् and वस्'? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोत्र्यामः ॥ Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe अ एवं विद्वानग्निमाधत्ते ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गामन्, हे पपिवन् ॥

Vart:—The affix वन् should also be enumerated. The affixes कुनिप् and वनिप् are both meant here. Its final is also changed to रु in the Vocative Sg. As वस्त्रायन्तं वसुना प्रातरिवः ॥ The word प्रातरिवन् is formed by adding कुनिप् to the root इ (इष्) preceded by प्रातः ॥ See III. 2. 75. The वृक् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vart :—The finals of भवत्, भगवत् and अघवत् are changed to ह्, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable अत् of these words is changed to ओ ॥ This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhāshā. Thus भवत्—हे भोः or हे भवत् ॥ भगवत्—हे भगोः or हे भगवत् ॥ अघवत्—हे अघोः or हे अघवत् ॥ Or these words भोः भगोः and अघोः are so irregularly formed by the āchārya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as भो देवदत्तवत्सरायै, भो देवदत्तवत्सरायै विष्णुमित्राः ॥ It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भो ब्राह्मणि ॥

The *adhikāra* of the word *संहितायां* does not exert any apparent influence in this *sūtra*. It however has influence in those subsequent *sūtras*, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of *sanhita* or *juxta-position*, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (*Vārtika* 2) by which the *lopa* is considered *siddha* in हरिवः, otherwise there would have been no ह् change in हरिवो मे &c.

अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोच्यम् । इत उच्यते कस्य स्थाने ह्रस्वीयते ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्येवमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

2. In the following *sūtras* upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which ह् has been ordained”.

.This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. For the letter which stands before that letter for which ह् has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where ह् is the subject of discussion.

Thus *sūtra* VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of सत्, there is ह् when सुद् augment follows”. The vowel अ of सत् becomes nasal ; as संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तुम्, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why have we used the word अत्र in the *sūtra*? It means “*here* i. e. in this division where ह् is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अत्र ; since it is an *adhikāra sūtra* and would apply to ह् ॥ Ans. No. Here ह् is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अत्र not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (*adhikāra*) of this nasal ; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those *beyond* the jurisdiction of ह्, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अत्र prevents this doubt and shows that ह् and nasality are co-extensive.

आतोवि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, आटि, नित्यम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अदि परतो योः पूर्वस्वाकारस्य स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकादेशो भवति ॥

3. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for अ before ह, when it is followed by a letter of अद् pratyâhâra (i. e. when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, व, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches ह substitution of अ, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sūtra. The present sūtra makes it necessarily so. Thus नहीं असि (Rig. III. 46. 2) नहीं इन्द्रो व ओजसा (Rig. VIII. 6. 1). ऐर्षो अञ्छासीष्यत् ॥

Some (i. e. the Taittiriyas) read it as anusvâra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe वे वा वनस्पतीरनु ॥ Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, व, or र follows"? Observe भवाञ्छरति, भवाञ्छारयति ॥

The word नित्य 'always' is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sūtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

अनुनासिकात्परो ऽनुस्वारः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकात्, परः, अनुस्वारः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकादन्यो यो वर्णः रोः पूर्वः यस्यानुनासिको न विहितस्ततः परो ऽनुस्वार भागमो भवति ॥

4. After what precedes ह, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvâra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvâra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः "a letter *other than* a nasal", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ह ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches ह substitution of the अ् of सम् an anusvâra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches ह substitution of the अ् of पुम् ॥ An anusvâra will be added here also, as, पुस्त्वाना ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches ह substitution of final अ् ॥ Here also an anusvâra will be added, as भवाञ्छरति ॥

Some say "the word परः in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः ; i. e. the anusvâra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvâra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ह ॥

समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम इत्येतस्य रुर्मवति सुटि परतः संहितायां विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संप्रकार्णां सो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ समो वा लोपमंके ॥

5. ह is substituted for the म् of सम् (and thereby अँ or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment स् follows, in a samhitā.

The augment सुद् is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus सँस्कर्त्ता or संस्कर्त्ता, सँस्कर्त्तुम् or संस्कर्त्तुम्, सँस्कर्त्तव्यम् or संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word is thus evolved: सम् + स् + कर्त्ता = सस् + स् + कर्त्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires to be changed to visarjannya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance: but the visarga is *always* and *necessarily* changed to स् by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhāshā) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sūtra may be so read as to teach the स् substitution as well. Thus, the sūtra is सम्: स्तुटि with two स्, and the sūtra will mean, "ह is substituted for the म् of सम् before सुद्, and this ह is always changed to स्" ॥

Why do we say "for the म् of सम्"? Observe उपस्कर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say "before सुद्"? Observe संकृति ॥

Vārt:—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted त् ॥ There would arise anomalies, if ह be substituted. Thus संस्कृता, पुंस्कामा, कांस्कान् ॥ In fact, according to this vārtika, ह is never substituted for म् (VIII. 3. 5), पुम् (VIII. 3. 6) and कान् (VIII. 3. 12).

Vārt:—सगो वा लोपमेके ॥ Some would have the elision of the स् after सम् ॥ This *Vārtika* is not given in the Kāsikā, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahābhāshya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus सँस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सँस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three स्, as सँस्स्कर्त्ता or संस्स्कर्त्ता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सँस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता and सँस्स्कर्त्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vārtika शरः खवः ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra: and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त् will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त्, two त् and three त्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when अच् is nasalised.

पुमः स्वयम्परे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमः, स्वयि, अम्-परे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुनिव्येतस्य हर्भवात् अम्परे स्वयि परतः ॥

6. ह is substituted for the म् of पुम्. (whereby the

उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (ख्य्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyāhāra).

Thus पुँस्क्रामा or पुँस्क्रामा; पुँस्वुवः or पुँस्वुवः; पुँस्फलं or पुँस्फलम्; पुँश्चली or पुँश्चली ॥ The visarga in पुँस्क्रामा required to be changed optionally to × jihvāmūliya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed *always* to स् here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The स् of पुँस् is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is व्, which comes to light in forms like पुमान् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pāṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुस् when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुस् is the real stem in composition. ख्य् pratyāhāra includes the ten hard consonants, and अम् pratyāhāra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुँस्क्रामा is formed by the affix ण = पुमांसं कामयते ॥

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as स्तनःस्त्वुदि, then the anuvṛitti of this स् will be current in the present sūtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛitti of ह् is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुँसात्, पुँगवः (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुँसीरः, पुँधुवः ॥ Why do we use the word षे in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The व् of पुस् is so changed before a ख्य् letter which has an अम् letter, (whether *preceding* it or *following* it). So that the rule would have applied to पुमाख्यः, पुमाचारः ॥

नदृच्छ्यप्रशान् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, छवि, अग्रशान् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकाणन्तस्व परस्य प्रशान्त्वर्जितस्य रुभवस्थम्परे छवि परतः ॥

7. ह् is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छ्व् letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अग्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भर्वाँञ्छावृत्ति or भर्वाँञ्छावृत्ति; भर्वाँञ्छिनोति or भर्वाँञ्छिनोति; भर्वाँटीकते or भर्वाँटीकते, (from the root टीकि 'to go'), भर्वाँस्तरति or भर्वाँस्तरति ॥

Why do we say 'before a छ्व् letter'? Observe भवान् करोति ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् छावृत्ति, प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम् follows छ्व्'? See भवान् स्वरकः ॥ स्वरः is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरकः (कन् V. 2. 64).

उभययर्धु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभयथा, ऋधु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य परस्य छविपरतः अम्पर उभयथा ऋधु भवति ॥

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the ॠ substitution was compulsory. A word ending in ॠ followed by a letter of छृ class, which itself is followed by ऋ, changes its final ॠ to ॠ *optionally* in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is ॠ and sometimes ॠ ॥ Thus तस्मिन् स्वा इधाति or तस्मिन् स्वा इधाति ; पशून्तीचके ॥

Why do we say "in the Rig verses". No option is allowed here तस्मिन् स्वा इधाति ॥

दीर्घाद्वि समानपादे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, अटि, समानपादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य पदान्तस्य नकारस्य रुभवत्यदि परतस्तौ चेन्निमित्तानिमित्तौ समानपादे भवतः ॥

9 ॠ is optionally substituted for that final ॠ of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अट् letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of छृ), when these (ॠ and अट्) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also ऋधु ॥ The word समानपाद means एकपाद, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिधीं रति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवीं एहवति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवीं अच्छादीष्यत् ; नदीं इन्द्रो य ओजसा ॥

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe अहमहिम् ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel or य, व or र"? Observe इध्यान् क्षिपान् ॥ Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse'? Observe यातुधानान् उपस्पृशः ॥

The word उभयथा of the preceding sūtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule : and ॠ remains unchanged also, as आदित्यान् इधामहे आदित्यान् आपिषामहे ॥ See VIII. 3. 3.

नृन्पे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नृन्, पे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृनिस्थितस्य नकारस्य रुभवति पद्ये परतः ॥

10. ॠ is optionally substituted for the ॠ of नृन् before प् ॥

The अ in प is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नृः पाहि or नृः पाहि ; नृः प्रीणीहि or नृः प्रीणीहि ॥

Why do we say 'before प्'? Observe नृन् भोजवति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of उभयथा into this sūtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नृन् पाहि also. The nominative case in नृन् has the force of Genitive.

स्वतवान्पायौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति पायुषञ्च परतः ॥

11. The न् of स्वतवान् is changed to ह before पायु ॥

As स्वतवः पायुर्गने (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the नुन् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु वृद्धौ with the affix भसुन् (स्वन्तवो बस्यऽसौ स्वतवान्) ॥

कानाम्नेडिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कान्, आम्नेडिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति आम्नेडिते परतः ॥

12. ह is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmreḍita.

The sūtra might have been कान् कानि; but the use of the longer form आम्नेडिते shows, that where there is 'doubling', and the word gets the designation of âmreḍita, then the rule applies. Thus काँस्कान् भामन्नवते, काँस्कान् भोजयति; or काँस्कान् &c. When the second कान् is not an âmreḍita, we have कान् कान् पश्यति? Here one is कि asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कत्कारि (VIII. 3. 48), and hence sūtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the स् of सनः सृष्टि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that स् is enjoined here and not ह ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sūtras also स् should be enjoined and not ह; because in those sūtras ह is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say 'when an âmreḍita कान् follows'? Observe कान् कान् पश्यति where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

ढो ढे लोपः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, ढे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकारस्य ढकारे लोपो भवति ॥

13. There is elision of ह् when ह् follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पदाधिकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the ह् is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीह from लिह्+ह ॥ The ह् is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and the ह् is first changed to ष by VIII. 2. 40, and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिह्+ह ॥ The first ह् is elided by this sūtra. Similarly मीहन्, उप-शुहन् ॥ The change of ष into ढ by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

Obj:—It will find scope before that ह् which is primary, as in श्लिह्+ढीकते, where ढ of ढीकते is primary.

Ans.—No. Here the first ह् will be changed to ढ् by ञच् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be श्लिह् ढीकते ॥ Nor is this ढ लोपः rule an apavāda to ञच् rule, because it has its scope in लीह &c. For the ञच् rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being

prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore अवस्व will take place first. Moreover in लिङ् + व there is similarity of sounds (श्रुतिकृतं आनन्तर्यम्); though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृतं आनन्तर्यम्) when the change of व into व by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sūtra. But in श्लिङ् वीकते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamānantaryam) between इ and इ, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore व लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore doubly asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the जश् rule. So when इ is changed to इ by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) in श्लिङ्, then there remains no sort of ānantarya—neither of śruti nor of śāstra.

रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, रि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफस्य रेफे परतो लोपो भवति ॥

14. र् is elided before a र् ॥

The sūtra is रः रि, and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of र् ॥ The sūtra is not confined to र् only, but to every र् in general including र् ॥ Thus वीरक्तम्, वूरक्तम्, where it is simple र् of निर् and वुर; and अग्नी रयः, and इन्द्र रयः where it is र् (अग्निः रयः, इन्द्रः रयः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava-shashtī; i. e. when रेफ is a portion of the pada. Thus a रेफ which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shashtī, then रेफ would qualify पद, and the rule would mean “र् should be elided before a र् when at the end of a word.” ॥ See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the penultimate र् in अजर्घर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घाः ॥ See VIII. 2. 37. So also अपास्ताः from स्पर्ध in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the षष् is elided, and सिष् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final ष् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 39, and this इ changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75.

खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफान्तस्य पदस्य खरि परतो वसाने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for र्, before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause.

The word र् is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृक्षच्छादयति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), वृक्षस्तस्यति, वृक्षस्तस्यति वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षभिन्नोति, वृक्षभिन्नोति ॥ Pause:—वृक्षः; वृक्षः ॥

Who do we say “before a खर् consonant or at a Pause”? Observe अग्निर्नवति, वायुर्नवति, नार्कुटः (वृ कुट्यां भवः), नार्पत्यः (वृपतेरपत्यं) ॥ In these two latter,

the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the र् being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पदस्य is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthāna-sasṭhi, so that for the final र् of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that र् which is not final.

रोः सुपि ॥ पदानि ॥ रोः, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्येतस्य रेफस्य सुपि परतो विसर्जनीयदेशो भवति ॥

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the ह called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

Thus पदस्य, सर्षिःषु, यशःसु ॥ The word सु is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the र् would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only ह becomes visarga, and not any other र् ॥ Thus गीर्षु, भूर्षु, when the र् is not ह ॥ In पदस्य &c, the स् becomes ह by VIII. 2. 66.

भोमगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, मगो, अघो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भो मगो अघो इत्येवंपूर्वस्य भवणेपूर्वस्य च रो रेफस्य वक्रापोदेशो भवति अशि परतः ॥

17. य् is substituted for the ह called र, when it is preceded by भो, मगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अच् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अच, मगो अच, अघो अच, भो अशति, मगो अशति, अघो अशति ॥ क आस्ते, कश् आस्ते, ब्राह्मणा अशति, पुरुषा अशति ॥ The य् is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With अ, the forms will be भोअच, मगोअच, अघोअच ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरच, वायुरच ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अच् pratyāhāra'? Observe वृक्षः, वृक्षः ॥ No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhitā (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

Ans.—If this be so, then अच् is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अच् are खर् ॥ Before a खर् letter, the र् will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the अच् of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अच् serves no purpose in this sūtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word हलि must be qualified by the word अच्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अच् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of च ॥ Thus वृक्षं वृक्षति = वृक्षवृत् ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृक्षवचति ॥ A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विष् will be वृक्षच् as in वृक्षच् करोति ॥ Here च् would require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before क्, but it is not so because अक्षि qualifies हलि ॥

Obj.—If so, why is the word हल् used in that sutra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say ह्रि सर्वेषाम् instead of हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥

Ans.—The word हल् is used in that sutra for the sake of the subsequent sutra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to *all* consonants. Had ह्रि been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हलि ought to have been used.

Moreover अक्षि is used in this sutra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृक्षच् करोति ॥

This sutra applies to ह् called र्, therefore not here प्रातरच्, पुनरच् ॥

व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोर्भोगोभयोभवनर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तव्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अक्षि परतः, शाकटायनस्याच्चावस्य मतेन ॥

18. च् and च् (in भगोच् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अच् letter, according to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna - tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. च् and च् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final च् and च् in भोच्, भगोच्, भयोच्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter च् will replace the heavy च्, and so the lighter च् the heavy च् ॥

Thus भोचच्, भगोचच्, भयोचच्, कयास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्मायुञ्जर or अस्मा उञ्जर, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः, हावच् or हा अच्, हावानय or हा आनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna - tara. In fact, च् and च् are to be slurred over.

लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पदान्तवोरवर्णपूर्वयोर्लोपो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाक्षि परतः ॥

19. च् and च् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अच् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उञ्जर or अस्मायुञ्जर, हावच् or हा अच्, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः ॥

The name of Śākalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of च् and च् by the last sūtra, there

also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of व् and य् are heard. Thus there are three forms, *heavy* व् and य्, *light* व् and य् and *elision* of व् and य् ॥

When व् and य् are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next sūtra compulsorily.

ओतो गार्ग्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, गार्ग्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारादुत्तरस्य यकारस्य लोपो भवति गार्ग्यस्याच्चार्यस्य मतेन आसी परतः ॥

20. य् preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya, before an अच् letter.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus ओ अच्, भगो अच्, भो इदच्, भगो इदच् ॥

The making of it a separate sutra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhāshā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu - prayatna य्, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu prayatnatara य् does come also. As ओ अच् or भोयच्, भगो अच् or भगोयच्, भयो अच् and भयोयच् ॥

According to others every kind of य् (whether heavy or light) is to be elided: and भोयच् is not valid in their opinion.

उञ्चि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्चि, च पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णपूर्वयोः ध्वोः पादान्तयोर्लोपो भवति उञ्चि च पदे परतः ॥

21. व् and य् (preceded by अ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उच्, and not the उच्, which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of वेच् ॥ Thus उ उ एकविंशतिः, उ उ एकात्रिः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे "उ when it is a pada"? So that the rule may not apply to उच् the form assumed by वेच् by samprasāraṇa as तन्ने उतं = तन्नुत्तच् ॥ Obj. उच् could never have meant the form assumed by वेच्, for the samprasāraṇa of वेच् is उ, the च् is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उच् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उच् ॥

Ans. :—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that इच्छ् may come before a *word* beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double च् in परमदण्डिना ॥ This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि परतो भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य अकारस्य पशान्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतन ॥

22. (The *ह* preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Âchâryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अघो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अघो, याति, वृक्षा हसन्ति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of ह् and ह्र् both is present here, yet we have taken ह्र् only to the exclusion of ह् ॥ Because after भो, भगो and अघो there is ह्र् only, and never ह्; and ह् can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षह्र् करोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here ह्र् is not elided, because the word अघि qualifies the word हलि of this sūtra.

Q.—But ह्र् should be elided in वृक्षह्र् हसति, because ह्र् is an अघ् letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyâhâra sūtra लृष् says that no words can end in ह्र्, ह्र, र्, ह्र् or लृष् ॥ So that the existence of the very word वृक्षह्र् is doubtful.

The word sarveshâm indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

मो ऽनुस्वारः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, अनुस्वारः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारस्य पशान्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

23. The Anusvâra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसति, कुण्डं याति, वनं याति ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, स्वमच, किमच ॥ The म् must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते ॥

नञ्चापदान्तस्य झलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, अपदान्तस्य, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाकारस्य मकारस्य चापशान्तस्यानुस्वापदेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

24. The Anusvâra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पयांसि, यशांसि, सर्पांसि, धर्षांसि with न् (VII. 1. 72); and आक्रंस्यते, आवि-
क्रंस्यते, अधिञ्जिगांसते with म् ॥

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राजन् युहस्व ॥ Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते ॥

मो राजि समः कौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, कौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राज्तौ क्षिप्रस्थवान्ते परतः ॥

25. म् is substituted for the म् of सम, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus सन्नाद्, साम्नाञ्चम् ॥ The substitution of न् for न् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say 'before राच्'? See संयन् (VI. 4. 40 Vārt). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe किं राद् (V. 4. 70). Why do we say 'ending with स्विप्'? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितस्वम् ॥

The स्विप् is added by III. 2. 61, the ञ् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ह् at the end of a word, in सन्नाद् ॥ साम्नाञ्चम् is formed by च्चम् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारे मकारपरं परतो मकारस्य वा मकार भवितो भवति ॥

पार्त्तिकम् ॥ वयलपरे वयला वा ॥

26. म् is optionally substituted for म्, before ह्, which itself is followed by a म् ॥

The म् may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with ह् ॥ Thus किं or किम् ह्यलयति, 'what does be cause to shake'? कयं ह्यलयति or कयम्ह्यलयति ॥

Vart:—Before ह्य, ह्, and ह्, the preceding म् may be changed to य, व or ष respectively. Thus किं ह्यः or किर्ष्यः, 'what does it matter about yesterday'? किं ह्यलयति or किर्ष्यं ह्यलयति 'what does he cause to shake'? किं ह्यायति or किर्ष्यं ह्यायति 'what gladdens'.

नपरे नः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारपरे हे परतःमकारस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. न् is optionally substituted for म्, when it is followed by ह् which has a न् after it.

म् becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्; as किम् ह्युते or किं ह्युते 'what withholds'. कयन्ह्युते or कयं ह्युते ॥

ङ्णोः कुक् टुक् शरि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ् णोः, कुक्, टुक्, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारणकारयोः परान्तयोः कुक् टुक् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ॥

28. The augment क् is added to a final क्, and the augment ह् to a final ञ्, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राक् षेते, or प्राह षेते; प्राहक् षष्ठः or प्राह षष्ठः, प्राहक् साधे or प्राह साधे ॥ षण्ड षेते or षण् षेते ॥

The augments are कुक् and टुक् with an indicatory क्, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the *beginning* of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference *practically*, whether these augments were added to the *end* of the first, or the *beginning* of the second. But they are added to the end of the *first*, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have प्राह् षेते also. This छ change of ष would not have taken place had the augment क् been added to

ए of चोते; because in चाम्छोदि (VIII. 4. 63) the ह्य् letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to च of चोते, as क्चोते, here too च follows a ह्य् letter, but this ह्य् letter (क्) is not at the end of a pada, so च will not be changed to छ (VIII. 4. 63). Thus च is not changed to छ in the body of a word, like विरप्तिन् though प् is a ह्य् letter. पुरा कूरस्य विसृपो विरप्तिन् ॥ विरप्तिन् = महन्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root एप्, with the Uṇādi affix चिनि ॥

Moreover in प्राक् साये, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क् been added to साये, as क्साये, the स would have been changed to ष, as प्राक् साये, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as स was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in वण्ड साये, the स is not changed to ष because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had ङ् been the augment of साये, as ङ्साये, then there would have been the change of स to ष by VIII. 4. 41.

ङः सि धुद् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङः, सि धुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारान्तात्पशानुत्तरस्य सकारादेः पदस्य वा घुङागमो भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in ङ्, there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus श्लिद् साये or श्लिद् साये, मधुलिद् साये or मधुलिद् साये ॥

The word ङः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ङ्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशो पञ्चमी निर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

Q.—Why it is धुद् and not धुक्, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ष्टु change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. श्लिद् + साये = श्लिद्साये, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is श्लिद् साये ॥ For the ह् of श्लिद् is ङ substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes ङ् by VIII. 2. 39, for the ध् of the augment, स is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for ङ् there is ङ् by the same rule.

नदच्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारान्तात्पशानुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा घुङागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in न्, धुद् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus भवान् साये, महान् साये or भवान् साये, महान् साये ॥ The ष् of the augment becomes न् by VIII. 4. 55. This न् is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore न् is not changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as धुद् and not नुद् ॥ In sūtra VIII. 3. 29 नुद् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kāśikā, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The न् can never be changed to ह् here, because न् is followed

by स् which is not an अन् letter. The word अन्परे is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, तुद् would have been a better augment.

शि तुक् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य पशन्तस्य सकारे परतो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

31. The augment न् may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

Thus भवाम् ष्ठते ॥ The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change ष into ष्ठ ॥ In fact, the augment घुद् added to the second would have been as good as तुक्, namely both are न् ; but then ष्ठ change would not have taken place.

Obj.—If this be so, then why न् is not changed to ण्, since it is no longer final in a pada, when तुक् is added to it, in कुर्वम् ष्ठते ॥

Ans.—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra स्तोः वयुना वयुः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent ण change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः वयुना, which will mean that स and तु followed by ष and वु will not cause the change of न् to ण ॥ The next sūtra will be वयुः, which will mean that the preceding स and तु are changed to ष and वु respectively.

ऊमो ह्रस्वादचि ऊमुणित्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊमः, ह्रस्वात्, अचि, ऊमुट्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वात्परे चो ऊम् तदन्तात्परादुत्तरस्याचो ऊमुडागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ रूपनेभ्यो वयासंख्यं रूपना भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in ऊ, ए or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant ऊ, ए or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word ऊमः is in the Ablative singular here ; and ह्रस्वात् qualifies ऊमः ; and ऊम् itself qualifies the word परस्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word परस्य (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with ऊमः ॥ अचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. ऊम् is a pratyāhāra meaning ऊ, ए and न् ; and so also ऊमुट् is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments ऊट्, एट् and नट् ॥

In other words ह् is augment after ह्, ए after ए and न् after न् ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ऊट् is the augment after a word ending in ह्, as प्रत्यह्कस्ते ॥ एट् is the augment after a word ending in ए, as

वण्णास्ते ॥ नुद् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्नवाचत्, कृ-
पन्नास्ते, कृपन्नवाचत् ॥

Why do we say 'ending in ङ, ञ or न' ? See त्वनास्ते ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel'? Observe प्राङ्नास्ते, भवानास्ते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a vowel"? Observe प्रत्यङ्करोति ॥

The Mahabhashya thus comments on this aphorism :—

Vārt:—ङमुद् पदादिमङ्गणम् "The ङमुद् augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word". So that in ङङिङ् + आ (Ins. Sing.), नुद् is not added to आ, because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this vārtika be held to be necessary? No, because the word पदात् is understood here: so नुद् will not come in ङङिङ्ना ॥ But then it will come in परमङ्ङिङ् + आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet ङङिङ् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa; and hence there should be नुद् here added to आ ॥ Ans. This is no valid objection. ङङिङ् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपक्षे चापदादिविधौलुप्तता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति "When an affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्, the pratyaya-lakṣhaṇa rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of Pada to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a Pada". Thus in परमङ्ङिङ् the word ङङिङ् is not treated as a पद, because the rule to be applied is to the end here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a pada, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a Pada. Thus in ङङित्तेचौ, the second member तेच् is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सान् पदाद्योः (VIII. 3. 111), and the स is not changed to ष ॥ This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पदात् governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛitti of पदात् ceased with VIII. 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above vārtika necessary? No: because the anuvṛitti of पदे from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means अजादौ पदे ङमुद् भवति ॥ "The augment ङमुद् is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences". Not therefore to the case affix आ in ङङिङ्ना ॥

मय उञ्जो वो वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उञ्जः, वः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य ङञो वा वकारादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

33. च् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह् and ञ्), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus चासु अस्तु वेदिः or चास्यस्तु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेतः or तद्स्य रेतः, किम् उ आवपनम् or किम्वावपनम् ॥ The उ is a Pragṛihya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains च् optionally. This च् being considered asiddha, the म् is not changed to anusvāra in किम्वावपनम्, चास्यस्तु &c, by VIII.3. 23.

When this **ञ** is followed by इति, and preceded by a मच् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by यणदेश (VI. 1. 77), or to द् by the present sūtra. In the case of यणदेश व्, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as किञ्चित् ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to द् by the present sūtra as किञ्चित् or किञ्च इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the व् will be nasal: as किञ्चित्, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किञ्च ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य सकार आदेशो भवति खरि परतः ॥

34. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. Thus वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षस्यकारः, वृक्षस्यकारः, वृक्षञिनोति, वृक्षञिनोति, वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षस्तपति, वृक्षस्तपति ॥

By VIII. 3. 15, the र् was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the स् change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i. e. in वृक्षः, वृक्षः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहितायाच् governs this sūtra; so the स् change will be in Sanhitā only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvṛitti of खरि here and so prevent the स् change in Pause.

शर्परे विसर्जनीयः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्परे, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्परे खरि परतो विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् ॥ In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus शशाः श्शरश्, पुरुषः श्शुरश्, अग्निः प्शाताश्, वासः शौमश्, पुरुषः स्शरुः, घनाघनः शौमणश्शर्षणीनाश् ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliya and upadh-māniya changes also do not take place, in cases like अग्निः प्शाताश्, वासः शौमश् ॥

वा शरि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो वा भवति शरि परे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शर्परेशरि वा लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As वृक्षः घोते or वृक्षघोते, वृक्षः घोते or वृक्षदघोते, वृक्षः षण्डे or वृक्षषण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षसाये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for घृ and षृ ॥

Vart:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृक्षा स्यात्तारः or वृक्षाः स्यात्तारः or वृक्षास्त्यात्तारः ॥

कुप्पो × क × पौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्पोः, × क × पौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गपवर्गयोः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य ययासंख्य × क × प इत्यतावदेषौ भवतः ॥

37. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष × करोति or वृक्षः करोति, वृक्ष × खनति or वृक्षः खनति, वृक्ष × पचति or वृक्षः पचति, वृक्ष × फलति or वृक्षः फलति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamūliya and the Upadhmaniya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sūtra will apply ; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As वासः सौमम्, अग्निः स्नातम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two :—(1) कुप्पोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × क × पौ च The jihvamūliya and upadhmaniya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेशो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्पोरपराधोः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सोपदाशान्तिव्यनव्ययस्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ रोरेव काम्ये नान्यस्येति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपध्मानीयस्य कवर्ग परतः सकार आदेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

38 स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपराधौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67), पयस्कं, यशस्कम्, (V. 3. 70); पयस्काम्याति, यशस्काम्याति (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पय × कामयते, पय × पिबति ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable : as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

Vart :—The visarga which comes from ह् is only changed to स before क्त्व, and not any other visarga. As पयस्क्वाम्यात्, and ययस्क्वाम्यति ; but not here, गीःक्वाम्यति धूःक्वाम्यति ॥

Vart :—स is the substitute of the Upadhmaniya when followed by a guttural. The root उञ् (आञ्जे Tud 20) has Upadhmaniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dhātupāṭha as उञ् the ङ् only represents the ञ् of उञ्, and is not to be pronounced. This ञ् is changed to स, when the final ङ् is changed to a guttural, as उ स ग, and then this स is changed to ह्, as in अभ्युद्गः, सद्युः ॥

These words, however, may be derived from the root गञ् with the Prepositions अग्नि, उत्, and सम् उत्, by adding the affix उ ॥

इणः षः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरादाविति वर्त्तते । इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकारादेशो भवति कुप्रोपरायोः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

39. ष् is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by ह् or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अपरादाविति is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्, यज्ञुष्पाशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्, यज्ञुष्कल्पम्, सर्पिष्कम्, यज्ञुष्कम् ; सर्पिष्क्वाम्यति, यज्ञुष्क्वाम्यति ॥

Why do we say 'by an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति, अग्निः पचति, वायुः पचति ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सर्पिस्ते, यज्ञुस्ते ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛitti of स from VIII. 3. 39 and of इणः षः from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to ष if preceded by ह् or उ, otherwise it will be स ॥

According to some, this sūtra ordains ष् in the room of the स् taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-पुरसोः, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरस् इत्येतयोर्गतिसंज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुप्रोः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस्, there is substituted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नमस्कर्त्ता, नमस्कर्तुम्, नमस्कर्त्तव्यम् ; पुरस्कर्त्ता पुरस्कर्तुम्, पुरस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say "when they are Gati"? Observe पूःकरोति, पुरौ करोति, पुरः करोति ॥ Here पुरः is a noun, Accusative Plural of पूः ॥

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and पुरस् is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛitti of अपरादाविति ceases.

इतुवुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्-उद्-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्यस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुम्बुहोःप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

41. ष is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, इर्, बहिर्, आविस्, अतुर् and मादुस् ॥ Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्पीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम्, बहिष्पीतम्, आविस्, आविष्कृतम्, आविष्पीतम्, अतुष्कृतम्, अतुष्कपालम्, अतुष्कन्डलम्, अतुष्कलम्, मादुष्कृतम्, मादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति? For here in पितुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the र् of पितुर्+स् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृषुचः in Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekādeśa उ (VI. 1. 111).

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुम् and बुहुस्; as पुंस्क्रामा, बुहुंस्क्रामा ॥

Vārt:—बुद्धिभूतानां षत्वं वक्तव्यम् । The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are vṛddhied; as नैष्कुल्यम्, सौष्कुल्यम् ॥

Vārt:—प्लुतानां तादौ च ॥ The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निष्कुलम्, दुष्कुलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta). दुष्पुरुषः, वहीष्टरः ॥

These last two vārtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to ष in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as त्त is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, अन्यरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्ता, तिरस्कर्तुम्, तिरस्कर्त्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्ता, तिरः कर्तुम्, तिरः कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word गतेः is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिरः कृत्वा कण्ठं गतः, where तिरस् does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्विस्त्रिभ्यतुरिति कृत्वोर्ये ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-त्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वोर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष इति संबद्धते । द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वोर्ये वर्त्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्पोः परतः ॥

43. **च्** is optionally the substitute of the visargas of **द्विस्**, **त्रिस्** and **चतुर्** when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix **सुच्** (**स्**) is added to the three words **dvi**, **tri** and **chatur** in the sense of *kṛtvasuch* by V. 4. 18.

As **द्विः** करोति or **द्विष्करोति**, **त्रिः** करोति or **त्रिष्करोति**, **चतुः** करोति or **चतुष्करोति**, **द्विः** पचति or **द्विष्पचति**, **त्रिः** पचति or **त्रिष्पचति**, **चतुः** पचति or **चतुष्पचति** ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of *kṛtvasuch* or Numeral adverbs'? Observe **चतुष्कपालम्**, **चतुष्कण्डकम्**, where **च्** is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. **चतुर्षु** कपालेषु संस्कृतः (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of *ubhayatra-vibhāshā*. With regard to **चतुर्** the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made **च्** compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** the visarga is that of an affix (**सुच्** or **स्** V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to **चतुर्** it is a *Prāpta-vibhāshā*, and with regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** it is an *Aprāpta-vibhāshā*.

Why have we used the words 'dvis, tris and chatur'? Objector's answer: so that the rule may not apply to **पञ्चकृत्वः** करोति, the visarga of *kṛtvasuch* (V. 4. 17) is not changed to **च्** ॥

The *anuvṛtiti* of **ञ** and **ङ** is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by **ङ** and **ञ** for the application of this rule. In **पञ्चकृत्वः** the visarga is preceded by **ञ**, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the *anuvṛtiti* of **इदुदुपधा** into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of 'belonging to a *word* that has the sense of *kṛtvasuch*'; we may dispense with the words **द्वित्रिचतुरिति** from the sūtra. The simple sūtra **कृत्वोर्ये** would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate **ङ** or **ञ**, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in **चतुर्** the visarga is not the *affix सुच्*, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to **chatur**, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृत्वसुञ्जर्ये षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्माच्चतुष्कपाले मा
 षत्वं विभाषया भूम्ननु सिद्धं तच्च पूर्वेषु ॥
 सिद्धे द्वयं विधत्ते चतुरः षत्वं यदापि कृत्वोर्ये ॥
 लुप्ते कृत्वोर्धीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
 एवं सति त्विदानीं द्वित्रिचतुरित्त्वेन किं कार्यम् ॥
 अन्यो हि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोर्धः कश्चिदप्यास्ति ॥
 अक्रियमाणे षद्गणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत ॥

चतुरो न सिध्यति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥

सस्मिंस्तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति ॥

प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ॥

Kārikā :—कृत्वसुञ्चये बलं ब्रवीति कस्मात्? Why does the author teach बल

when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्वोर्ये is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्विस्, त्रिस् are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix सुच् (V. 4. 18) and चतुर being read in their company will also denote the *adverb* chatur, in which सुच् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are सुच्-formed, and all सुच्-formed words have the sense of Kṛtvasuch. One answer to this is that the rule of साहचर्ये does not always hold good, as in क्षीवीक्षीवाम् (I. 1.6), the words क्षीवी and क्षीवाम् are verbs, while इद् is an augment. Though therefore द्विस् and त्रिस् are kṛtvorthe words, yet चतुर need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. *Ans.* चतुष्कपाले ना बलं विभाषया भूत् ॥ The word कृत्वोर्ये is employed to indicate that there should be no optional बल in चतुष्कपालं ॥ The बल here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. *Q.* ननु सिद्धं तच्च पूर्वैर्न ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional बल, as चतुःकपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुःकपाल and will change this visarga to ष, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have *always* ष ॥ *Ans.* सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुरः बलं यदापि कृत्वोर्ये, लुप्ते कृत्वोर्येरेरेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि । If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix सुच् is elided after चतुर, and the र is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory बल rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुः करोति and चतुष्करोति, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कृत्वोर्ये ॥ *Q.* But we say that the र in the adverb चतुर is that of सुच्, thus चतुर + सु = चतुर + र (VIII. 2. 66) = चतु + र (the first र is elided by VIII. 3. 14) = चतुर; and that this र when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the *adverb* चतुर ॥ *Ans.* No. For ङ would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतुर ॥

एवं सति त्रिविधानीं द्विविधचतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥ If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिश्चतुरिति in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कृत्वोर्ये would have been enough. Because (अन्वोहि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोर्यः कश्चिच्चप्यस्ति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or उ ॥

अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तरा विशेष्येत । If we do not use the words द्विस्, त्रिस्, chaturiti in the sūtra, then the word kṛtvorthe would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean "the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛtvasuch is changed optionally to ष" ॥ The result of this will be

that (अतुरा न सिध्यति तथारफस्य विसर्जनयोहि) it will not apply to अतुः where the visarga is that of र् and not of the affix लुच् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्ये would qualify अतुर (तस्मिन् तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं अतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ॥

Ans.—प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि, विशेषणं नाप्यम् ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word kptvortha will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पर whose context runs here ; and the rule of तदन्त will apply ; so that the sūtra कृत्वोर्ये will mean, परस्य कृत्वोर्ये वर्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीयः, तस्य सकारः पकारो ष ॥ “The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to स् or ष before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by इ or उ”.

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kāśikā however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra कृत्वोर्ये would be insufficient for the visarga of अतुः though used as an adverb, the षत्व will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्वभासिद्धम् applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before ; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) ॥ Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41 : and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसोः, सामर्थ्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां पकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुपुः परतः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्षिष्करोति or सर्षिः करोति, यजुः करोति or यजुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्षिः, पिब त्वद्भक्तम्, where सर्षिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means व्यवस्था or mutual relation of two words ; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to भाकाह्वा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’. For it being a पदविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः परविधिः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sāmārthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्यं which is the sāmārthya of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sāmārthya here means vyapekshā, which is thus defined नामाभूतयोः, परार्थयो र्थौ सद्यै वचंते, तयो र्थौ योगः “the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas”.

नित्यं समासे ऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुत्तर पदस्थस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्सोरिति वचंते । समासविषये इत्सोरिसर्जनीयस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं एत्वं भवति कुप्लोः परतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कपालम्, सर्पिष्पानम्, धनुष्कलम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका, परमधनुः कपालम् ॥ The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प् by adding the Uṇādi affix इसि (Uṇ II. 109), and धनुस् by the Uṇādi affix डसि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इत्सोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिस् and धनुस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra ?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस् : प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादे-स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself”. This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra ?

Ans :—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, कृ-कमि-कंस-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कर्णीषु, अन्-अव्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भकारादनुत्तरस्य अनव्ययविसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं सकारोश्चो भवति कृ कमि कंस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कर्णी इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of क्त and कम्, or the words कंस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus क्तः—अयस्कारः, पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्—अयस्कामः, पयस्कामः, कंसः—अयस्कंसः, पयस्कंसः, कुम्भः—अयस्कुम्भः, पयस्कुम्भः ॥ So also अयस्कुम्भी पयस्कुम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति ॥ पात्रः—अयस्पात्रम्, पयस्पात्रम्, अयस्पात्री, पयस्पात्री ॥ कुशाः—अयस्कुशा, पयस्कुशा ॥ कर्णीः—अयस्कर्णी, पयस्कर्णी ॥ The form शुनस्कर्णः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः धूःकारः ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by short अ’? Observe भाःकरणम् ॥ The form भास्कारः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe द्रवःकारः, पुनःकारः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; अद्यः करोति पयः करोति, अद्यः कामयते ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमपयः कारः, परमपयः कामः ॥

Q. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Uṇādi affix स (III. 62 Uṇ)?

Ans.—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim :—उणादयोऽभ्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि “Words which end with उञ् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”

अधः शिरसी पदे ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ अधः-शिरसी, पदे ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधस् शिरस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्यस्य सकार आदेशो भवति पदशब्दे परतः ॥

47. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥ अधस्पदी, शिरस्पदी ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

The word अधस्पदम् is a compound formed under Mayūravayansakādi class.

कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्क इत्येवमादिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः पकारो वा यथायोगमादेशो भवति कुपोः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37. ष is substituted after इ or उ, and स everywhere else. Thus कस्कः, 2. कौतस्तुतः (with अण् of कुत आगतः). 3. आतुषुत्रः (VI. 3. 23) 4. ह्यनस्कर्षः (VI. 3. 21) 5. सद्यस्कालः; 6. सद्यस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्की in the sense of तत्रभवः क्रतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the ह is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सर्षिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्षिष्पूलम्, 13. यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ष, even when सर्षिष् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्षिष् कुण्डिका ॥ The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परमसर्षिष्ः फलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pārāyaṇikās. But in the Mahābhāṣya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परमसर्षिष्ः कुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ष change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekshā. As तिष्ठतु सर्षिष्कुण्डिकां मानय ॥ So also when there is correlation, as इदं सर्षिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ Here सर्षिष् is an incomplete word. The ष change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the ष will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ष would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases : (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठतु सर्षिष्कुण्डिकामानय ॥ (2) Where there is correlation, as इदं सर्षिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्षिष्कुण्डिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ष *invariably* in case of these words. 14. अद्यस्काण्डः, 15. वेदस्विण्डः ॥ अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु इदम्यः ।

Every change of visarga to स or ष, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtigāṇa. Upachāra is the name of स and ष which replace the visarga.

The Pārāyaṇa is of two sorts, Dhātu-Par, and Nāma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārāyaṇikas.

छन्दसि वा ऽप्राप्तेऽदितयोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आप्तेऽदितयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विसर्जनीयस्य वा सकारादेशो भवति कुपोः परतः प्रचण्डं प्राप्तेऽदितं वर्जयित्वा ॥

49. स may optionally be substituted for the

visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas ; but neither before प्र, nor before a doubled word.

Thus अयः पात्रम् or अयस्यात्रम् ॥ This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46 : because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकरणे and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra : but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वस्तस्यात्रम् or विश्वस्तः पात्रम्, here the word विश्वस्तः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. उरु णः कारः or उरु ण स्कारः ॥ Here नम् is substituted for अस्मद्, and then the न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we say "not before प्र and a doubled word"? Observe अग्निः प्र विद्वान् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ॥

In सूर्यतद्विमर्शिकेशः पुरस्तात् (Rig. X. 139. 1), स नः पावकः (Rig. I. 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

कःकरत्करतिकृधिकृतेष्वनदितेः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-करत्-करति-कृधि-कृतेषु, अन्-अदितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कः करत् करति कृधि कृत इत्येतेषु परतः अन्-अदितेर्विसर्जनीयत्वं सकारदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, करत्, करति, कृधि and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वस्तकः ॥ कः is the Aorist of कृ, the षि has been elided by II. 4. 80 : the क् of कृ is gunated before the affix तिप्, thus we have करत्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68 ; and the augment अद् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विश्वस्तकरत् ॥ Here also करत् is the Aorist of कृ, with अद् by III. 1. 59. पयस्करति, here करति is the लृट् of कृ ; षप् is added instead of उ, as a Vedic anomaly. उरणस्काधि, here कृधि is the Imperative of कृ, the सि is changed to हि, the vikaraṇa is elided, and हि changed to धि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण ॥ सदस्कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ॥

Why do we say 'but not of अदितिः'? Observe वया नो अदितिः करत् (Rig. I. 43. 2).

पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परौ, अध्यर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि स्थेव । पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारदेशो भवति परौ परतः अध्यर्थे ॥

51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स् before परि meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus दिवस्परि प्रथमं जज्ञे (Rig X. 45. 1) अग्निर्हिमवत्तस्परि ॥ दिवस्परि, महस्परि ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम् ॥ Why do we say "before परि"? See एभ्योवा एतल्लोकेभ्यः प्रजापतिः समैरयम् ॥ Why do we say 'when परि means 'over'? See दिवः पृथिव्याः प्रयोजं उद्भूतैम् (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of "on all sides".

पातौ च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातौ, च बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पातौ च धातौ परतः पञ्चनीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुलं सकार आदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

52. स may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पानु in the Chhandas.

Thus दिवस्पातु, राजस्पातु ॥ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिषद्ः पात ॥

षष्ठ्याःपतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्-पोषेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्यसकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद पयस् पोष इत्येतेषु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्, and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्पतिं विश्वकर्माणसूतये, (Rig. x. 81. 7), दिवस्पुत्राय सूर्याय, दिवस्पृष्ठे धावमानं सुपर्णेम्, अगन्म, समसस्वारम्, इडस्पदे सनिध्यसे, सूर्जे चक्षु दिवस्पयः, रायस्पोषं यजमानेषु धत्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See महुः पुत्रेभ्यो शयं व्यमज्जत् ॥

इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडायाः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्यादिषु परतश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

54. स is optionally substituted for the visarga of इडायाः, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इडायाः पतिः or इडायास्पतिः इडायास्पुत्रः । इडायाः पुत्रः । इडायास्पृष्ठम् । इडायाः पृष्ठम् । इडाया स्वारम्, इडायाः पारम् । इडायास्पदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्पयः । इडायाः पयः । इडायाः पोषम् । इडायास्पोषम् ॥

अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्द्धन्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्येति मूर्द्धन्य इति चैतदधिकृतं देहितव्यम् । आपादपरिसमाप्तेः ॥

55. Upto the end of the Pāda, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word".

Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. 1. 16. The two words अपदान्तस्य 'not final in a pada', and मूर्धन्यः 'cerebral' exert a governing influence on all sūtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches "of an affix and a substitute". The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i. e. "a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स of an affix and of the स which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word'. Thus सिषेव, सुष्याप, आम्रपु, वायुषु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? See अग्रिस्तत्र, वायुस्तत्र ॥ Though the अनुवृत्ति of ५ was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ङ; as अकृद्भव, चकृद्भे (VIII. 3. 78).

सहेः साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः, साढः, सः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहेर्दातोः साङ् रूपस्य यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

56. ङ् is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साङ् (साद्) ॥

Thus जलाषाद्, नुराषाद्, वृत्तनाषाद् ॥ साङ् is derived from सह by the affix ण्व (III. 2. 63), there is वृद्धि of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ङ (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

साढः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साङ् except this derived from सह; why then the word सहेः is used in the sūtra? There is another form साङ् not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सङः, सङस्य अपत्यं = साङिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ङ is called सङ; as षड् ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साङ्'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, नुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स"? So that the आ of साङ् may not be changed to cerebral: the ङ is already cerebral.

इण्कोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण् कोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोरित्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्दश्यामः इणः कवर्गाद्येत्येवं तद्देवितव्यम् ।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels इ is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. इण means the letters of the क् class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिषेव, सुष्याप, अग्निषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्तृषु, गीर्षु, धूर्षु, बाह्य, स्वह्य ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by इण् or कु"? Observe शस्यति, असौ ॥ Here the affix स of त्यति, and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ष ॥

जुम्बिसर्जनीयशार्च्यवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुम्, विसर्जनीय-शार्च्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जुम्ब्यवायेपि विसर्जनीयव्यवायेपि शार्च्यवायेपि इत्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

58. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when the augment न् (जुम्), the visarjanīya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स् ॥

The word व्यवाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words जुम्, &c. Thus (1) when जुम् intervenes, as सर्षिःषि, यज्ञेषि, हवीषि (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjanīya intervenes, as सर्षिःषु, यज्ञःषु, हविःषु (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्षिःषु, यज्ञुषु हविषु ॥

The षत्व takes place, when जुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्से, निस्से from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, जुम् and स् (III. 4. 91).

The word इणकोः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the स् should follow *immediately* after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेश, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशो यः सकारः प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इत्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य मूर्धन्यो भवति ॥

59. ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स् ॥ The sūtra ādeśa-pratyayoḥ is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word ādeśa, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samānādhikaraṇa-shashṭhi, in the latter avayava-yogāshashṭhi. That is that स् which is an ādeśa, and that स् which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayogā shashṭhi in both places, then the sūtra would mean "of that स् which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are *substituted* in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus विसंबिसं, वुसलंवुसलं ॥ Here the स् in these words, is a *portion* of a substitute, and would be changed to ष्, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as "of that स् which is a substitute or an affix", we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like करिष्यति and हरिष्यति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति ;

for here स is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single स्, such as सिप् in the Vedic subjunctive लेद् ॥ That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute चस् is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in आदेशस्य was=आदेशस्य यः सकारः and not=आदेशः यः सकारः, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute चस् in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of चस् also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रत्ययस्य was=प्रत्ययः यः सकारः, and not=प्रत्ययस्यः यः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix सान् (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter स् ॥

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that स् which is a substitute. It can only be the स् which replaces the ए of a root in Dhātupāṭha. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप ॥ Of an affix, we have भमिषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्षुषु; वक्षत् in इन्द्रो मा वक्षत्; and वक्षत् in स देवान् वक्षत् ॥

Q.—In the case of वक्षत् and वक्षत्, the स् is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this स् ॥

Ans.—Here we apply the maxim व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन् ॥

These words (वक्षत् and वक्षत्) are from the roots वच् and वच्, in लेद् with सिप्, the इ is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment अद् (III. 4. 94), the affix सिप् by III. 1. 34; the च् of वच् is changed to a guttural, and the ज् of वच् to ए and then to a guttural.

The Uṇādi word अक्षरं (अश् + सर Uṇ III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृसरं and धूसरं (Uṇ III. 73) formed with the same affix सर ॥

शासिबसिघसीनांच ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ शासि-वासि- घसीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शासि वसि वासि इत्येतेषां च इण्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

60. च् is substituted for the स् of शास्, वस् and घस् when it is preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

Thus अन्वशिषत्, अन्वशिषताम्, अन्वशिषन्, the Aorist of शास्; the च् is replaced by अद् (III. 1. 56), and the आ changed to इ by VI. 4. 34. So also शिष्टः, शिष्टवान् ॥ From वस् we have वषितः, वषितवान्, वषित्वा ॥ The Samprasāraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajādi class. From घस् we have जक्षतः, जक्षुः in the Perfect. चस् is the substitute of अद् (II. 4. 40), the penultimate अ is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also वक्षन् in वक्षन्नेमीमवन्त पितरः (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of अद्, the चस् is substituted for अद् (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.

This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the स् is not an ādeśa. Though the स् in वस् is the स् of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word आवेद्यस्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute'. Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute वस् is not to be taken here : as it seldom occurs.

The word इष्कोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to शास्ति, वसति and अवास ॥

स्तौतिण्योरेव षण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तौति-ण्योः, एव, षणि,
अभ्यासात् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ स्तौतिर्ण्यन्तानां च षण्यभूते सति परतः अभ्यासादिण उच्यते आवेद्यसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

61. स् is substituted for स after इ or उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स of सन् is changed to ष् ; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhātupāṭha begin with a ष् ॥

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of स्तु and of स् beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign स् is changed to ष् ॥ The rule applies to the स् of the substitute, and not to the affix स् as there can be no such स् after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore स् means that स which replaces the ष् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have तुष्टुवति ॥ Here the स of सन् is changed to ष by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate उ, the स of स्तु is changed to ष ॥

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with ष् in Dhātupāṭha, we have सिषेवविषति, सिषिञ्जविषति, मुष्पापयिषति ॥ In this last, the ष् is changed to उ by VII. 4. 67.

Though this ष change would have taken place by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the ष change takes place only in these cases of स्तु and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sūtra, and *no where else*. Thus सिषिञ्जति from the root षिञ्ज करणे (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a ष, therefore the form ought to have been सिषिञ्जति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sūtra. So also मुष्पते from ष्पृष् प्राणिसवने (Div. 24) : and मुष्पति from ष्पृष् करणे (Tud 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word एव in the aphorism ? Ans. इदतो-ऽवधारणार्थम् ; so that, the sūtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only*, when षन् follows" ? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when षन् *only* follows". In the

latter view, we could not get the form लुदाव ; and the rule would have applied to सिद्धिक्वति also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative व्" ? So that the *niyama* may not be any where else. Had वणि not been used in the *sūtra*, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the *sūtra* would have meant "if there is occasion of बल्य change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of लु and the Causatives". Therefore व change would not have taken place in सिद्धिक्व, as it is not a Causative.

Q.—को विनतेऽनुतोषः? Why have we used the word वण् with व्, and not the word सन्? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix सन्, in this changed form? The word विनत is the name given in the Prāti-sākhyas to व and ञ change.

Ans.—So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत form of सन् ॥ As ह्युप्सति ॥ The सन् is here कित् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सनि been used in the *sūtra*, then the restriction would have been with regard to *all* Desideratives in *general*, whether the सन् was changed to व or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिद्धिक्वति where स is not changed to व ; so there would have been restriction in ह्युप्सते, the स् could not have been changed to व् by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in सिद्धासति ॥

Q.—What is the necessity of exhibiting वण् with the anubandha व्? So that the rule should not apply to व in general, but to the Desiderative affix व only. As ह्युपिष हन्त्रम् ॥ This ह्युपिषे is the Perfect of स्वप्, the affix यास् is added as Chhandas irregularity instead of यत् ; for यास् there is से, the affix is कित् by I. 2. 5, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment इद् is added by VII. 2. 13, the व् is changed to अक्, as ह्युपिषव् हन्त्रं, the व् is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate ह्य, the स् is changed to व, in ह्यु by the *general* rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this *sūtra* does not apply in this case. But had व in general been taken, then ह्युपिष has an affix व, and therefore *sūtra* VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of ह्यु to ह्यु after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence वण् has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate'?

Ans.—So that this restriction may apply to that व which would have been caused by the इ or उ of an *abhyāsa*, and not to that which would have been caused by an *upasarga*. As अग्निषिद्धिक्वति, though without the Preposition, the form is सिद्धिक्वते ॥

Q.—No, this cannot be the reason, because the व caused by the *upa-sarga* is considered as *asiddha*, and hence there would be no restriction.

Ans.—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by सन्, namely that abhyāsa which is *caused* by सन्, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by बह्, and then बन् is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and बल change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the बह् of स्वप् is सोबुप् (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोबुषित्ते, with इट् augment, the elision of अ (VI. 4. 48) of ब, the elision of ब् by VI. 4. 49.

Q.—No this also cannot be the reason: because the बल change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

Ans.—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that ब् which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyāsa; and not to that ब् which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a dhātu or verbal root. Thus प्रतिषिषति, अर्षिषति ॥ Here the root इ in the sense of बोधन, is turned to Desiderative with सन्; and by VI. 1. 2, the स is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the अ is changed to इ ॥ Thus इसिस; here by the force of the इ of the abhyāsa सि, the स is changed to ष as इषिष; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root इ causes the बल of the abhyāsa, as इषिष ॥ Had the word अन्वसाद् not been used in the sūtra, the स of abhyāsa could not have been changed to ष, for then the sūtra would have meant “ष is substituted for स, only in the case of स्तु and Causatives in the Desiderative बन्”; and as इषिष is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्वदिस्वदिसहीनां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, स्वदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम्, च ॥ वृत्ति ॥ स्वदि स्वदि सहि इत्येतेषां प्यन्तानां सनि बभूते परतो ऽन्वसादुक्तस्य सकारस्य सकारिणो भवति ॥

62. स is substituted for the स् after the reduplicate of the षण् Desiderative of the Causatives of स्विद्, स्वद्, and सह् ॥

The स substitute of स् debars the cerebral change. In other words, the स of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्वदिषिषति, सिस्वाद्विषति and सिसाह्विषति ॥

प्राक्सिताद्बुध्यवाये ऽपि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्,सितात्, अद्, बुध्यवाये, अपि ॥ वृत्ति ॥ सेवसितेति पश्यति प्राक्सितसंज्ञादनाद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकामिष्यामस्तथाद्बुध्यवायेपि ऽपूर्वन्वो भवति-त्येवं सहेदितप्यमपिषाब्दानद्बुध्यवायेपि ॥

63. (The substitution of ष् for स्, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सिद् exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अद् intervenes (between the स and the efficient letter).

The root सिद् occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches ष change : as अभिषुणोति, परिषुणोति, विषुणोति, निषुणोति ॥ So also when अद् intervenes ; as अभ्यषुणोत्, पर्यषुणोत्, व्यषुणोत्, न्यषुणोत् ॥ The force of अपि is that the change takes place even when the augment अद् does not come, i. e. in cases other than the augment.

स्यादिव्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यादिषु, अभ्यासेन, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक् सितादिति वर्णने ॥ उपसर्गात्सुनोतीत्यत्र स्यासेनबलेपेति स्यादवस्तेषु स्यादिषु प्राक् सितसंज्ञानाद् अभ्यासेन ध्यवाये मूर्धन्यो भवत्यभ्याससकारस्य च भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In स्या &c upto सिद् exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this ष substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the स of the reduplicate is also changed to ष ॥

The words प्राक् सिताद् are understood here also. The स्यादि roots are, स्या, सेनय &c in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with सेद् in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences : (1) The बल्ब takes place in स्या &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes ; (2) The स of the reduplicates of स्या &c. is changed to ष ॥ The first is a *vidhi* rule, and the second is a *niyama* rule.

Thus परित्तौ where the abhyāsa त् intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a ष in the Dhātupāṭha. As अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति (सेनया अभियादुमिच्छन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in अ, as अभित्तौ ; here the ह् would not have been changed to ष (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by इ or उ ॥ Another *raison d'être* of this sūtra is that it prohibits षत् (VIII. 3. 61). As अभिषिषिषति, परिषिषिषति ॥

The word अभ्यासस्य is for the sake of *niyama*, as we have said above. स of स्या &c. and of no other roots is changed to ष ॥ As अभिसुषति from सू द्वरेण with सन्, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12 : the root ह् is unchanged by the *niyama* prohibition of VIII. 3. 61 ; the reduplicate ह् remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गात्सुनोतिमुवतिस्यतिस्तौतिस्तोभतिस्यासेनयसेधसिचसञ्जस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, सुनोति-मुवति-स्यति-स्तौति-स्तोभति-स्या-सेनय-सेध-सिच-सञ्ज-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य सुनोति मुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोभति स्या सेनय सेध सिच सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

65. ष् is substituted for स, after an इ and उ of an *upasarga* in the following verbs : स (सुनोति), सू (मुवति), सो

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुम (स्तोमते), स्या, सेनय (Denominative), सिध् (सेधति), सिच्, सङ्ज् and स्वङ्ज् ॥

Thus अभिषुणोति, परिषुणोति, अभ्यषुणोत्, पर्यषुणोत् ॥ सुवति, अभिषुवति, परिषुवति, अभ्यषुवत्, पर्यषुवत् ॥ स्यति, अभिस्यति, परिष्यति, अभ्यस्यत्, पर्यस्यत् ॥ स्तौति, अभिष्टौति, परिष्टौति, अभ्यष्टौत् ॥ स्तोमति, अभिष्टोमते, परिष्टोमते, अभ्यष्टोमत्, पर्यष्टोमत् ॥ स्या, अभिष्टास्यति, परिष्टास्यति, अभ्यष्टान्, पर्यष्टान्, अभितष्टौ, परितष्टौ ॥ सेनय, अभिषेणयति, परिषेणयति, अभ्यषेणयत्, पर्यषेणयत् ॥ अभिषिषेणयति, परिषिषेणयति ॥ सेध, अभिषेधति, परिषेधति, अभ्येधत्, पर्येधत् ॥ सिच, अभिषिचति, परिषिचति, अभ्यिचत्, पर्यिचत्, अभिषिचक्षति, परिषिचक्षति ॥ सङ्ज, अभिषजति, परिषजति, अभ्यषजत्, पर्यषजत्, अभिषिषङ्क्षति, परिषिषङ्क्षति ॥ स्वङ्ज, अभिष्वजते, परिष्वजते, अभ्यष्वजत्, पर्यष्वजत्, अभिषिष्वङ्क्षते, परिषिष्वङ्क्षते ॥ सेध इति शब्दिकरणनिर्देशः सिच्यतिनिवृत्त्यर्थः ॥ उपसर्गादिति, किम्? इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति, निगताः ॥ सेचका अस्मादेशान्निः सेचको देश इति ॥ नायं सिचैरुपसर्गः ॥ अभिसावक्रीयतीत्यपि न सुनोति प्रति क्रियायोगः किं तर्हि सावकीयं प्रति ॥ अभिषावयतीत्यत्र तु सुनोतिमेव प्रति क्रियायोगो न सावयतिमिति पलं भवति ॥

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sūtra as सेध with ण् विकाराणा, thus debarring सिध्-सिध्यति ॥

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति (VIII. 3. III). So निःसेचको देशः=निर्गता सेचका अस्माद् देशान् ॥ Here निः is not an Upasarga to सिच्, but to the noun सेचक ॥ Similarly in अभिसावक्रीयति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root सु (सुनोति), but to the *third* derivative of सु (सुनोति). Namely, from सु we derive सावक with ण्वुल्, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with ळ्यच्; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then ण्वुल् and ळ्यच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिषावक्रीयति ॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिषावयति, for here the upasarga is added to the root सु and not to the causative form सावय ॥

The roots पुस् अभिष्वे belongs to Svādi class, बु भ्रणे to Tudadi class, षोऽन्तकर्मणि to Divādi class, ष्टुस् स्तुतो to Adādi class and ष्टुम स्तंभे, to Bhuādi Class. These have been shown in the sūtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their ष्ट् लृक्, as अभिसोषयति ॥ See VII. 1. 6 for this rule of क्षिप् exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिच् &c. being not so exhibited, change their स in ष्ट् लृक् also, as अभिषेचिषीति ॥

The upasarga need not end with इ and उ for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्पुणोति, दुष्पुणोति, where the upasarga is निस् and दुस् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सद्विः, अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्याग्निमित्तात्प्रतेरुत्तरस्य सूत्रेण्य आदेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद्वि is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥

The word सद्विः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus विषीयति विषीयति, न्यषीयत्, व्यषीयत् ॥ निषसार, विषसार ॥ The second स remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.

Why do we say 'but not after प्रति'? Observe प्रतिसिद्धिः ॥ Prof. Bohtlingk points out that the sūtra is सरेरप्रतेः as given by Sayānāchārya in his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

स्तन्भेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्भेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तन्भेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्याभिनित्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

67. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after an upasarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अभिष्टभाति । परिष्टभाति । अष्टभात् । पर्वष्टभात् । अष्टिष्टम् । परिष्टम् । The word अष्टेः of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like:—प्रतिष्टभाति । प्रत्यष्टभात्, प्रत्यष्टिष्टम् ॥

अघाञ्चालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अघात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययो ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अघाञ्चालमुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तन्भेः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति । आलम्बनेर्ये आविदूर्भे च ॥

68. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after the preposition अघ in the sense of 'support' and 'contiguity'.

The word आलम्बनं means "support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans". आविदूर्भ means "the state of not being विदूर or far off, i. e. to be contiguous'.

Thus अघष्टभास्ते "He remains leaning upon a staff" &c, अघष्टभ तिष्ठति ॥ So also in the sense of to be near, as अघष्टभा सेना 'the army near at hand'. अघ-ष्टभा शरत् ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say "when having the sense of support or contiguity"? Thus अघस्तब्धो वृषलः क्षीतेन 'the Śūdra is afflicted with cold'.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

वेभ्य स्वनो भोजने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गाद्वाचोत्तरस्य भोजनाये स्वनतेः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

69. The ष् is substituted for the स् of स्वन्, after वि and अघ, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus विष्वजति, अष्वजत्, विष्व्याज, अष्वजति, अष्वजत्, अष्वज्याज ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say 'when making a smacking sound in eating'? Observe विस्वननि घृत्नः "the drum sounds".

परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिबुसहसुद्स्तुस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-नि-वि-भ्यः, सेव-सित-सय-सिबु-सह-सुद्-स्तु-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरेषां सेव सित सय सिबु सह सुद् स्तु स्वञ्ज इत्येतेभ्यः सकारस्य मूर्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

70. ष is substituted for the स् of सेष्, सित, सय, सिष्, सह, the augment सुद्, स्तु, and स्वञ्ज, after the prepositions परि, नि, and चि ॥

The root सेष belongs to Bhuādi class. The word सित is the Past Participle of सिञ् बन्धने, and सय is the noun derived from the same root with the affix अच् ; सिष् is a Divādi root.

Thus परिषेवते । निषेवते । विषेवते । पर्येवते । व्येवते । न्येवते । परिषेविषते । विषि-
वेविषते । निषिवेविषते । सित । परिषितो, विषितो, निषितः । सव । परिषयो, निषयो, विषयः । सिष् ।
परिषीष्यति । निषीष्यति । विषीष्यति । पर्येषीष्यत् । न्येषीष्यत् । व्येषीष्यत् । पर्यसीष्यत् । न्वसीष्यत् ।
व्यसीष्यत् । सह परिषहते । निषहते । विषहते । पर्यषहत् । न्यषहत् । व्यषहत् । पर्यसहत् । न्वसहत् । व्यस-
हत् । सुद् । परिष्करोति । पर्यष्करोत् । स्तु । परिष्टौति । निष्टौति । विष्टौति । पर्यष्टौत् । न्यष्टौत् । व्यष्टौत् ।
पर्यस्तीत् । न्यस्तीत् । व्यस्तीत् । स्वञ्ज । इणसञ्जस्वञ्जामिति नलोपः । परिष्वजते । निष्वजते । विष्वजते ।
पर्यष्वजत् । पर्यस्वजत् । पूर्वैष सिञ्जे स्तुस्वञ्जामरणधुत्तरार्यम् । अङ्ग्यवायं विभाषा यथा स्वात् ॥

The nasal is elided in स्वञ् by VI. 4. 25. The स of स्तु and स्वञ् would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sūtra, by which the ष change is optional when the augment अद् intervenes.

सिवादीनां चाङ्ग्यवायेपि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, षा-अद्-अङ्ग्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरसूत्रे सिष्सहसुद्स्तुस्वञ्जामिति सिवात्त्वः । सिवादीनामङ्ग्यवायेपि परिनिविभ्य उत्तरस्व सकारस्व वा सूत्रेणो भवति ॥

71. The ष-change may take place optionally in the सिष् and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or चि and the verb.

The सिवादि are the four roots सिष् सह, स्तु and स्वञ्ज, as well as the aug-
ment सुद् ॥ This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. In the case of स्तु and स्वञ्ज it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

अनुविपर्यभिनिभ्यः स्यन्देत्प्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-वि-परि-आभि
निभ्यः, स्यन्देत्, अप्राणिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनु वि परि आभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्व स्यन्देत्प्राणिषु सकारस्व वा द्वर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

72. ष is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्यन्द, after the prepositions अनु, चि, परि, आभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्यन् प्रसवणे is anudatta. Thus अनुष्यन्दते । विष्यन्दते । परिष्यन्दते ।
आभिष्यन्दत तौम् । निष्यन्दते । अनुष्यन्दते । विष्यन्दते । परिष्यन्दते ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्वन्दते मस्त्व उपके ॥ The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अनुस्वन्दते or अनुप्यन्दते मस्त्वोपके ॥ The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word अप्रापिषु is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-pṛatishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word *living*, and in a compound like मस्त्वोपके, consisting of *living* and *non-living* beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a *living* being in it, and so there will be no च्च ॥ In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛitti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been अन्वभिध्यां च स्वन्दतेप्रापिषु, and by the force of च्च we would draw in the anuvṛitti of परि &c.

वेः स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्देः, अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य हुर्जन्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द्, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त् and तघत् ॥

The root is स्कन्दिर् गति शोषणयोः ॥ Thus विष्कन्ता or विस्कन्ता, विष्कन्तुष् or विस्कन्तुष्, विष्कन्तव्यम् or विस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhā'? Observe विस्कन्नः

परेञ्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषाब्दाद्योत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य वा हुर्जन्यो भवति ॥

74. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द् after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिष्कन्ता or परिस्कन्ता, परिष्कन्तुष् or परिस्कन्तुष्, परिष्कन्तव्यम् or परिस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विपभिध्यां स्कन्देर् &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अनिष्ठायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिष्कणः or परिस्कन्नः ॥

परिस्कन्दः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिस्कन्दः, प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिस्कन्द इति हुर्जन्याभावो निपात्यते प्राच्यभरतेषु प्रयोगविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्द् is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

This is an anomaly. The **ए** required by the last sūtra is prohibited. The other form is परिस्कन्दः ॥ The word परिस्कन्द is formed by the affix अच् or it is a Nishthā, the त् being elided. The word भरत qualifies the word प्राच्य ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk translates it "परिस्कन्द is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata". He bases his construction on the sūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where प्राच्यभरतेषु means "the Eastern People and Bharata".

स्फुरतिस्फुल्लयोर्निनिविश्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुल्लयोः, निस्, नि, विश्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फुरतिस्फुल्लयोः सकारस्य निस् नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

76. **ए** is optionally substituted for the **स्** of स्फुर् and स्फुल् after the prepositions निस्, नि, and वि ॥

Thus निष्फुरति or निस्फुरति, निस्फुरति or निष्फुरति, विस्फुरति, विष्फुरति ॥ स्फुलति, निष्फुलति, निस्फुलति, निष्फुलति, विष्फुलति, विष्फुलति ॥

वेः स्कन्नातेर्नित्यम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्नातेः, नित्यं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुतस्य स्कन्नातेः सकारस्य नित्यं मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

77. **ए** is always substituted for the **स्** of स्कम्भ, after the preposition वि ॥

Thus विष्कम्भाति, विष्कम्भिता, विष्कम्भितुम्, विष्कम्भितव्यम् ॥

इणः षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां धोङ्गात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षीध्वं, लुङ्लिटाम्, धः, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धन्य इति वर्त्तते । इणन्ताङ्गात्परेषां षीध्वंलुङ्किटां यो धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्योदेशो भवति ॥

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the **ध्व** of षीध्वम्, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in इण् (a vowel other than अ).

The word 'cerebral' is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus अयोषीध्वम्, शोषीध्वम् ॥ Aorist :—अय्योद्ध्वम्, अशोद्ध्वम् (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect : अकृद्धे ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of इण्कोः was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word इण् here indicates that the anuvṛitti of कु or the guttural ceases. As पशीध्वम्, यशीध्वम् ॥

Why do we say "the ध of षीध्वं, लुङ् and लिट्"? Observe स्तुध्वे, अस्तुध्वम्, where the ध is of लट् and लृट् ॥

Why do we say अङ्गात् 'after a stem'? Observe परिवेविषीध्वम्, from विष्त्व्याप्तौ of the Juhotyādi class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the स् of सीयुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79, and षीध्वम् here is made up of the **ए** of the root विष्, and ईध्वम् the affix ; therefore षीध्वं here is not after the *anga* परिवे वि, for the *anga* here is परिवे विष्, and ईध्वम् is the affix. This result could have been

obtained, without using the word अङ्गान् in the sūtra, by the maxim अर्थवद् महणे नानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning".

विभाषेतः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, इट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणः परस्मादिट् उत्तरेषां पीध्वलुङ्लिटां या धकारस्तस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति विभाषा ॥

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the घ् of षीध्वम् and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment इट्, when the stem ends in इण् ॥

Thus लृ + इट् + पीध्वम् = लविषीध्वम् or लविषीद्वम् so also पविषीध्वम् or पविषीद्वम् from पू ॥ Aorist:—अलविध्वम् or अलविद्वम् ॥ Perfect:—लुलुविध्वे or लुलुविद्वे ॥

The word इण् is understood here and it qualifies the word इट्, so that the stem should end in an इण् vowel which should be followed by the इट् augment and this letter should be followed by षीध्वम् and the ध beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an इण् vowel, the rule will not apply; as आसिषीध्वम् from the root आस उपवेक्षणे ॥

Then in the word उपदिशीयिध्वे, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sūtra or otherwise? This is from the root शीङ् क्षये in the Perfect with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 13.), and युट् (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment युट् intervenes between the stem ending in ई (इण् vowel), and the augment इट्, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional ङ ॥ Others hold that the anuvṛitti of अङ्गान् has ceased, and the anuvṛitti of इण् is only current, in this sūtra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into ङ ॥

समासेङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अङ्गुलेः, सङ्गः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्गसकारस्याङ्गुलेरुत्तरस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

80. ङ् is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्ग । अङ्गुलिषङ्गो वषागूः । अङ्गुलिषङ्गो गाः सादवति ॥ Why do we say in a compound? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्गं पद्य ॥

The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. सङ्गत्य ॥

भीरोः स्थानम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीरोः, स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानसकारस्य भीरोरुत्तरस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

81. ङ् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरु in a compound.

Thus भीरुस्थानम् ॥ The word compound is understood here also; otherwise भीरो स्थानं पद्य ॥

अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, स्तुत्, स्तोम, सोमाः ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नेरुत्तरस्य स्तुत् स्तोम सोम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥
 इति ॥ अग्नेर्दीर्घान् सोमस्येव्यते ॥

82. **स्** is substituted for the **स्** of स्तुत्, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निदुत्, अग्निदोमः, अग्नीषोमः ॥

Ishiti.—The **इ** of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened **ई**, that the **स्** of सोम is changed to **ष्**, otherwise not. As अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ ॥ So also अग्निसोमौ तिष्ठतः (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोमः ॥

The word अग्निदुत् is formed by द्विप्, the sacrifice in which Agni is praised (स्तुयते) is so called. अग्निदोमः is also the name of a sacrifice: the 'first division (संस्था) of the Soma-yāga. अग्नीषोमः is a देवता-द्वन्द्वः so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the **ष्** change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Āśvalāyana there is lengthening and **ष्** change in the last case also, as अग्नीषोमौ प्रजेष्यामि ॥

ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, आयुषः, स्तोमः ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् आयुस् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्तोमसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

83. The **स्** of स्तोमः is changed to **ष्** after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिदोमः, आयुदोमः, but ज्योतिः स्तोमर्दीर्घयति where there is no compounding.

मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृ, पितृभ्याम्, स्वसा ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ मातृ पितृ इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसकारस्य समासे मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

84. The **स्** of स्वस् is changed to **ष्** after मातृ and पितृ in a compound.

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ See VI. 3. 24.

मातृपितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृः, पितृभ्याम्, अन्य-तरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृर् पितृर् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसृष्वस्यान्यतरस्यां मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

85. The **स्** of स्वस् is optionally changed to **ष्**, after मातृर् and पितृर् in a compound.

Thus मातृःस्वसा. or मातृःष्वसा ; पितृःस्वसा or पितृःष्वसा ॥ The word मातृर् and पितृर् end in **र्**, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word पितृर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a **र्**, the word मातृः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a **र्** ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this **र्** is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to **स्** by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no **ष्** changed?

Ans.—The ए change would take place both after the visarga-ending or स-ending words, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् “ That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place”. Therefore, these words are taken to end in र् ॥ For if they were taken to end in स्, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form पितुर्भ्याम् with a र् before भ्याम् in the sūtra is hard to explain.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिसस्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निसः, स्तनः, शब्द-संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभि निस् इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य स्तनतिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां शब्दसंज्ञायां गन्ध-मानायाम् ॥

86. The स् of स्तन् is optionally changed to ए after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i. e. visarga).

As अभिनिदानो वर्णः, अभिनिदानो विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिस्तानो वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः ॥ The compound preposition अभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus, Āpastamba :—द्वक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वभाष्यातोत्तरं क्षीर्वाभि-निदान्तं, घोषवशाद्यन्तरन्तस्थम् “ a name (nāma) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (nama-pūrva), and its second portion a verb (ākhyāta), that it should end in a long vowel (dirgha) or a visarga (abhinishtaṅa), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter (ghosha-vad-ādi), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it.” Thus the names इविषोदा, वरिषोदा fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say “ when it is the name of a particular letter.?” Observe अभिनिस्तनति चरुः ॥ The anuvṛitti of समासे ceases from this place.

उपसर्गप्रादुर्भ्यामस्तिर्यच्परः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, प्रादुर्भ्याम्, अस्तिः, यच्परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिनिताप्रादुर्भ्यामस्तिर्यच्परस्य यकारपरस्याच्परस्य चास्तिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

87. The स् of the verb अस् is changed to ए, when it is followed by a vowel or य् and is preceded by प्रादुः, or an upasarga having इ or उ in it.

The word यच् परः means ‘followed by य् or अच्’ ॥ The word प्रादुः is an Indeclinable, meaning ‘evidently’.

Thus अभिषन्ति, निषन्ति, विषन्ति, प्रादुःपन्ति ; अभिष्यात्, निष्यात्, विष्यात्, प्रादुः-प्यात् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga* having an इ or उ?" Observe हांधस्यात्, मधुस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'of the verb अस्'? Observe अनु-सृतम्, विसृतम् ॥

Q.—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स, but here the upasarga is not applied to स but to the *whole verb* सृ, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sūtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of स only, and such a verb is अस्, with its अ elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for प्रादुः, for it comes only in connection with the verbs कृ, भू and अस् ॥

Ans.—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुसृ, the son of Anusū will be आनुसृत्: with ङ्ङ as it belongs to Subhrādi class. Thus अनुसृ + ङ्ङ = आनुसृ + एय = आनुसृ + एय ॥ Here the ङ्ङ is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when ङ्ङ is elided, the सृ is the only verb-element that remains, अनु is upasarga, and एय is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sūtra, the rule would apply to this सृ also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or य्"? Observe निस्तः, विस्तः, प्रादुस्तः ॥

सुविनिर्दुर्भ्यः सुपिसूतिसमाः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, वि, निर्, दुर्भ्यः, सुपि, सूति, समाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु वि निर् दुर् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सुपि सूति सम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूदिसुप्त्वापेति केन न ।

ह्लादिशेषान् सुपिरिष्टं पूर्वं प्रसारणम् ॥

स्यादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक्सितादुत्तरः सुपि ।

अनर्थके त्रिसुपुपः सुपिभूतो द्विरुच्यते ॥

88. The सू of स्वप्, सूति, and सम is changed to ष after सु, वि, निर् and दुर् ॥

The word सुपि is exhibited in the sūtra as the form of स्वप् with vocalisation. Thus सुपुप्तः, निः पुप्तः दुः पुप्तः ॥ The word सूति is the क्तिन् ending form of सू; the rule applies to this form only, as सुषूतिः, विषूतिः, निःषूति and दुःषूतिः ॥ The word सम also means the *noun* सम and not the verb सम स्तम वैकल्ये ॥ Thus सुषमम्, विषमम्, निःषमम्, दुःषमम् ॥

Kārikā—Why is षत्वं taught with regard to the सुप् form of स्वप्? *Ans.* सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूत्, so that the षत्वं change should not take place in स्वप् form, as विश्वम् and विश्वमक् (III. 2. 172) ॥ *Q.* त्रिसुप्त्वापेति केन न? For what reason the षत्वं change has not taken place in the reduplicate त्रिसुप्त्वाप, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form सुप्, as त्रिसुप्स्वप्, and then by applying ह्लादिशेष rule, the ष् is elided, and एकदेशविकृतस्थानन्यत्वात् applies? *Ans.* ह्लादि शेषान् न सुपिः, we

reduplicate the form स्वप्, as विस्वप्स्वप् and then elide प्, as विस्वस्वप्, and then vocalise, as विस्वस्वप् so that there being no form सुप्, there is no बस्व ॥ इदं पूर्वं प्रसारणं, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishti. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्वप् स्वप्, as प् is elided, व् would also have been elided. Why is the स of विस्वप्स्वप् not changed to व् by VIII. 3. 64? स्यादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक् सितानुत्तरः सुप्ति, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सित in VIII. 3. 70, while सुप् is after that verb. Moreover the प् of सुप् being elided, the mere सु is अनर्थक, and the maxim is अर्थवद् ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ॥ Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विष्णुपुत्रः? Ans. अनर्थके विष्णुपुत्रः शुपिभूताद्विरुध्यते, here the form सुप् is doubled, and not सुप् ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि + स्वप्, then there is vocalisation विस्वप्, then there is व् change, as विष्णुप्, then reduplication, as विष्णुप्सुप् ॥ Now बस्व being considered asiddha, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the बस्व change is not asiddha (VIII. 2. 3 Vārt.)

निनदीभ्यां छातेः कौशले ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, नदीभ्याम्, छातेः, कौशले ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नि नदी इत्येताभ्याश्चत्स्ये छातिसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति कौशले गम्यमाने ॥

89. The ष् is substituted for स् of स्ना after नि and नदी when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus निष्णातः कटकण्डे । निष्णातो रञ्जुवर्त्तने । नद्यां स्नातीति नदीष्णः ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्ना preceded by the upapada नदी under sūtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निस्नातः, नदीस्नातः (नद्यां स्नातः)

सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रम्, प्रतिष्णातम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते । सूत्रं चेतवति । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् ॥

90. The word प्रतिष्णातः is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णातः सूत्रम् i. e. शुद्धम् 'pure'. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिस्नातं = 'bathed'

कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपिष्ठलः, गोत्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ॥

91. The word कपिष्ठल is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhala will be कपिष्ठलिः ॥ The word gotra" here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिस्थलम् The land of the monkeys.

प्रद्यो अग्रगामिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रद्यः, अग्रगामिनि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रद्य इति निपात्यते अग्रगामिन्यभिधेये ॥

92. The word प्रद्य is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

Thus प्रद्योऽङ्ग meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्रत्ये हिमवतः पुण्ये "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya". प्रत्यो व्रीहीणाम् 'a measure of barley'.

वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृक्ष, आसनयोः, विष्टरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये । विपूर्वस्य स्तृणातेः षत्वं निपात्यते ॥

93. The word विष्टर is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix षप् to the root स्तृ preceded by the preposition वि ॥ Thus विष्टरो वृक्षः ॥ विष्टरमासनम् ॥

Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe मौलपित्राक्यस्य विस्तरः ॥ See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which षप् is added here instead of धप् ॥

छन्दोनाम्नि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोनाम्नि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते । विपूर्वात्सृ इत्येतस्माद्भातोः छन्दोनाम्नि चेत्येवं विहित इति विष्टर इत्यपि प्रकृते विष्टार इत्यत्र विज्ञायते ॥

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विष्टर is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word विष्टर is formed denoting a sort of metre called विष्टारपंक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chhandas'? Observe पदस्य विस्तारः ॥

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sutra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is, not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः संसारपङ्क्तिः ॥

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवि, युधिभ्याम्, स्थिरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गवियुधिभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

95. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर, युधिष्ठिर ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.

विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, शमि, परिभ्यः, स्थलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वि कु शमिं परि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थलसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

96. ष is substituted for स् in स्थल after वि, कु, शमि, and परि ॥

Thus विष्टलम्, कुष्टलम्, शमिष्टलम् and परिष्टलम् ॥ The word वि, कु and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शमी forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शमि is shown with a short इ, indicating thereby that when the इ is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place ; as शमी-स्थलम्

अम्बाम्बगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशोकुशङ्कुङ्गुमञ्जिपुञ्जिपरमेर्बर्हिर्हिर्व्यग्निभ्यः स्यः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शोकु, शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, बर्हिस्, दिवि, अग्निभ्यः, स्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्ब आम्ब गो भूमि अप द्वि वि कु शोकु शङ्कु अङ्गु मञ्जि पुञ्जि परमे बर्हिस् दिवि अग्नि इत्ये-
तेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थानसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ स्थस्थिन्स्युणामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The स् of स्थ is changed to ष after अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्य, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शोकु शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, बर्हिस्, दिवि and अग्नि ॥

Thus अम्बष्टः, आम्बष्टः, गोष्टः, भूमिष्टः, सव्येष्टः, अपष्टः, द्विष्टः, त्रिष्टः, कुष्टः, शोकुष्टः, शङ्कुष्टः, अङ्गुष्टः, मञ्जिष्टः, पुञ्जिष्टः, परमेष्टः, बर्हिष्टः, दिविष्टः, अग्निष्टः ॥

The word स्थ is shown in the sūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्या, for then the rule would apply to गोस्थानम्, भूमिस्थानम् &c.

Var.—The same change takes place in स्या, स्थिर, and स्य ॥ As सव्येष्टाः । परमेष्टी । सव्येष्टा सारथिः ॥

सुषामादिषु च ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषामादि षु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुषामादिषु षष्ठेषु सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

98, The स् is changed to ष in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥

1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 गौरिषक्यः संज्ञायाम्, 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलापाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेचनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेचनम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्; °षेचनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायाम्गात्, 18 हरिषेणः, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, रोहिणीषेणः ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 94) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्री ; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to क्षेप preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The words निःषेधः and दुःषेधः = निर्गतः क्षेपः or दुर्गतः क्षेपः ॥ The word क्षेप here is a षम् formed word, from पिष्टृ हिंसा संराद्धो ; if it be derived from

विध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113. The words सुषन्धिः, दुःषन्धिः &c are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92); and the स् of सम् is changed to ष् ॥ The words सुष्णु, दुष्णु are Uṇādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिषक्यः is a Bahuvrihi, the स् of सक्यि is changed to ष् and the Samāsānta षच् is added (V. 4. 113). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिष्णिक्ता is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root ङ्गा, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिष्णा with दाप्; then क् is added by V. 3. 73, and ङा shortened (VII. 4. 13), and इ added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैषेचनं is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिषेचनं is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीष्यति ॥

एति संज्ञायामगात् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, संज्ञायाम्, अगात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति इष्कोदत्तरस्यागक्रापरस्य संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99 *The स् followed by ए and preceded by इष् or कु is changed to ष्, when the word is a name, and when the स् is not preceded by ग् ॥*

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेणः, so also वारिषेणः, जातुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स् is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्कृ सेनः ॥ The phrase इष्कोः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

नक्षत्राद्वा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगकाराद् मूर्धन्यो भवति ॥

100 *When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष् substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.*

Thus रोहिणिषेणः or रोहिणितेनः, भरणिषेणः or भरणितेनः ॥ But not here सप्त-भिषक् सेनः were the preceded letter is ग् ॥ These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the मुषामादि Gaṇa. The author of Kāśikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ष changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, तादौ, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वाद्दत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति तादौ तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकः ॥ तिङन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

101. ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, **त्**, **तम्**, **तय**, **स्व**, **तल्**, **तस्**, **त्स्** ॥ As **त्**—**सर्पिष्टम्** **यजुष्टम्** । **तम्** । **सर्पिष्टमम्** । **यजुष्टमम्** । **तय** । **चतुष्टये** **ब्राह्मणानां** **निकेताः** । **स्व** । **सर्पिष्टम्** । **यजुष्टम्** । **तल्** । **सर्पिष्टा** । **यजुष्टा** । **तस्** । **सर्पिष्टो**, **यजुष्टः** । **त्स्** । **आदिबन्धो** **बर्द्धते** । **ह्रस्वार्धति** **किम्** । **गीस्तप** । **धूस्तप** । **तादाधि** **किम्** । **सर्पिस्ताङ्गवति** । **प्रत्ययसकारस्य** **स्यास्पृशद्योति** **सन्धिपि** **प्रतिषेधे** **प्रकृतिसकारस्य** **स्यात्** । **तद्धितइति** **किम्** । **सर्पिस्तरति** ॥

Why do we say **त्** before affixes beginning with **त्** ॥ Observe **सर्पिस्ताङ्गवति** ॥

Q.—But this **त्** would never have been changed to **ब** because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, how can you then give this counter-example?

Ans.—Though the **त्** of the affix **सात्** is prohibited by VIII. 3. III, yet the counter-example is valid, because the **स्** of the base **सर्पिस्** is also not changed. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe **सर्पिस्तरति** ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As **भिन्पुस्तराम्** । **छिन्पुस्तराम्** ॥ These are the Potential third person plural of **भिन्** and **छिन्** with the augment **यासुद्**; the Taddhita affix **तरप्** is added by V. 3. 56, and **आम्** is added by V. 4. II.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to **पुंस्** as **पुंस्यम्** **पुंस्ता** ॥

निसस्तपतावनासेवने ॥ १०२ ॥ **पदानि** ॥ **निसः**, **तपतौ**, **अनासेवने** ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ **निसः** **सकारस्य** **मूर्धन्यादेशो** **भवति** **तपतौ** **परतो** **नसेवने** **र्थे** ॥

102. **ब** is substituted for the **स्** of **निस्** before the verb **तप्** when the meaning is not that of 'repeatedly making red hot'.

The word **आसेवन** means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus **निष्टपतिः** **सुवर्णम्** = **सकृत्** **अग्निम्** **स्पर्शयति** i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe **निस्तपति** **सुवर्णम्** **सुवर्णकारः** = **पुनः** **पुनरग्निम्** **स्पर्शयति** ॥

In the sentences **निष्टपं रक्षः**, **निष्टप्रा** **भरातयः** the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

युष्मत्सप्ततद्धुःष्वन्तःपादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ **पदानि** ॥ **युष्मत्**, **तत्**, **ततद्धुः** **षु**, **अन्तः** **पादम्** ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ **युष्मत्** **तत्** **ततद्धुस्** **इत्येतेषु** **तकारादिषु** **परतः** **सकारस्य** **मूर्धन्यादेशो** **भवति** **स** **षेष्कापेन्तः** **पादं** **भवति** ॥

103. The **स्** standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to **ष** before the **त** of **त्वम्** &c. and **तद्** and **ततद्धुस्** ॥

The word युष्मद् here means the substitutes स्वम्, स्वाम्, ते, तव. As अग्निर्द्, नामासीत् ॥ स्वा, अग्निर्द् वर्य्यामसि ॥ ते, अग्निर्द् विश्वमानय ॥ तव, अप्सवमे सधिष्टव, (Rig VIII. 43. 9) ॥ तत्, अग्निर्द्विश्वमापृणाति, (Rig X. 2. 4) तत्तुस्, आवापुथिषी निष्टतुः पु ॥ अन्तः-पारमिति क्रिप्, नित्यमात्मनो विदाभूदग्निस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदा विश्वर्षणिः ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यन्मभात्मनो मिन्नाभूदग्निस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदा विश्वर्षणिः ॥ Here the word अग्निः is at the *end* of the first stanza while तत् is at the *beginning* of the second stanza, therefore the स् of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

यजुष्येकेषाम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, एकेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषि विषये युष्मत्तत्तुः पु परत एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अग्निर्भिद्म् or अग्निर्भिस्त्वम् । अग्निर्दम् or अग्निस्तेमम् । अग्निर्दत् or अग्निस्त्वत् । अग्निर्भिष्टुः or अग्निर्भिस्त्वत्तुः ॥

स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दसि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ एकेषामिति वर्त्तते । स्तुत स्ताम इत्येतयोः सकारस्य छन्दसि विषये मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दसि विषये ।

105. The स् of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष् in the opinion of some.

Thus अग्निर्द्वत्तस्य or अग्निस्त्वत्तस्य, गोष्टोमं षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोमं षोडशिनम् ॥ This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word छन्दसि of this sūtra governs the subsequent sūtra also.

पूर्वपदात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्याग्निभिन्नादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स् is changed to ष्, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in इ &c.

The words छन्दसि and एकेषां are both understood here. Thus द्विषन्धिः or द्विसन्धिः, त्रिषन्धिः or त्रिसन्धिः; मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत or द्विपाहस्रं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus अग्निःसप्तस्य वायुः or अग्निःसप्तस्य वायुः ॥

सुअः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुअः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुअिति निपात इह गृह्यते तस्य पूर्वपदस्याग्निभिन्नादुत्तरस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

107. The स of the Particle सु is changed to ष in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter इ &c.

Thus अग्नी सु जः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्ध्वं ऊ सु जः (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनोतेः, अनः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to ष, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विट (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषाः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्'? Observe गोसनि वाचसुसीरवन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषणि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this ष change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसनिः in the list of सवनानि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानधिपति ॥ So also सिसनीः formed by adding क्तिप् to the Derivative root सिसनिस, thus सिसनिस + क्तिप् = सिसनिस (the ञ् is elided by VI. 4. 48) + 0. add सु, सिसनिस + सृ = सिसनिस + 0 [सृ is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final सृ (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to ष or to र (ह). The ष being asiddha, the ह change takes place.] = सिसनिर = सिसनीः (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this sūtra, there will be ष change in सिषानधिपति in the Causative.

सहेः पृतनार्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः पृतना-ऋताभ्याम्, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ पृतना ऋत इत्येताभ्यांऋतस्य सहसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to ष, after पृतना and ऋत ॥

Thus पृतनाषाहम्, ऋताषाहम् ॥ Some divide this sūtra into two; as (1) सहेः; (2) पृतनार्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ So that the rule may apply to ऋतीषहः also. The word ऋति is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in sañhitā: and the ष change takes place in sanhitā only. Otherwise the form is ऋतिसहम् ॥ The word च 'and' in the sūtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word ऋतीषहं would be valid by this also.

न रपरसृपिसृजिसृष्टिसृष्टिस्वनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सृपि, सृजि, सृष्टि, सृष्टि-स्वनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रेकपरस्य सकारस्य सृपि सृजि सृष्टि सृष्टि स्वनादीनां च मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

110. The ष substitution does not take place if र follows the स्र, as well as in सृप, सृज, सृष्टा सृष्ट, and in सवन and the rest.

Thus विकसिकायाः काण्डं जुहोति ॥ The word विकसिक is formed by the affix ण्वुल् (III. 3. 109), विलक्ष्यः कथयति ॥ This word is from the root सृम्भु विश्वासे, the इद् is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the निष्ठा न ॥ सृपः—पुरा कूरस्य विसृपः ॥ The word विसृपः is formed by the affix कसृम् (III. 4. 17), सृजः—वाचो विसर्जनात् ॥ सृष्टः—दिविसृष्टम् ॥ सृष्टिः—निसृष्टं कथयति ॥

The following is a list of सवनादि words :—

1 सवने सवने, 2 हूते हूते, 3 सोमे सोमे, 4 सवनश्रुत्वे सवनश्रुत्वे, 5 किसः किसः (कित्यतीति किसः), 6 अनुसवनमनुसवनम्, 7 गोसनि गोसनिम्, 8 अश्वसनिमश्वसनिम् ॥ In some books this is the list 9 सवने सवने, 10 सवनश्रुत्वे सवनश्रुत्वे, 11 अनुसवनमनुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), 12 सज्ञायां बृहस्प-तिसवः, 13 शकुनिसवनम्, 14 सोमे, सोमे, 15 हूते हूते (हूते २), 16 संवत्सरे सवत्सरे, 17 विसं विसम्, 18 किसं किसम् (किसं किसम्), 19 श्रुत्वे श्रुत्वे 20 गोसनिम्, 21 अश्वसनिम् ॥

सात्पदाद्योः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्, पदाद्योः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ साहिति चैतस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

111. The ष substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that स which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात् here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. The present sūtra prevents that. The Padādi स refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a ष, and for which a स is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus अभिसात् । वधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padādi स as वधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥

सिचो यङि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः सकारस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

112. The ष substitution does not take place in the स् of सिच् of the Intensive.

Thus सेसिच्यते and अभिसेसिच्यते ॥

Q.—The स of the reduplicate should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 65, in अभिसेसिच्यते, and the स of the root should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 64. Because सिच् is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this

latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i. e. एवादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिवेषिष्यते?

Ans.—The ए ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of एवादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिवेषिषति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतेः, गतौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गतौ वर्त्तमानस्य सेधतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

113. The स of the verb सेध is not changed to ए when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गाः, परिसेधयति गाः ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe सिष्यमकार्यान्प्रतिषेधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध-निस्तब्धौ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतौ मूर्द्धन्यप्रतिषधाय निपात्येते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to ए, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सहिरेष सोढृभूतो गृह्यते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ए ॥

As परिसोढः, परिसोढुम्, परिसोढव्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ॥ Observe परिषहते, विषहते ॥

स्तम्भुसिबुसहां चङि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिबु-सहाम्, चङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु सिबु सह इत्येतेषां चङि परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

पार्त्तिकः ॥ स्तम्भु सिबुसहां चाङ उपसर्गादिति वक्तव्यम् ।

116. The ए change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिव् and सह ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ए change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिव and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यतस्तम्भन्, अभ्यतस्तम्भन् ॥ सिवः—पर्यसीषिवन्, न्यसीषिवन् ॥ सहः—पर्यसीषहन्, व्यसीषहन् ॥

Vart.—This prohibition refers to the ष change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

सुनोतेः स्यसनोः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुनोतेः, स्य-सनोः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो न भवति । स्यसनि च परतः ।

117. स् of सु (सुनोति) is not changed to ष् in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus :—अभिसोष्यति, परिसोष्यति, अभ्यसोष्यत्, पर्यसोष्यत् ॥

What example will you give under Desiderative? सुनूषति ॥ This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example अभिसुनूषते ॥ This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example अभिसुसूः, निसुसू derived from the desiderative root अभिसुनूषति by the affix द्विष् ॥ Here the desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second स would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सन् ॥ Observe सुषाव ॥

सदिष्वञ्जोः परस्य लिटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वञ्जोः, परस्य,लिटि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सदि ष्वञ्ज इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोर्लिटि परतः सकारस्य परस्य मूर्धन्यो न भवति ।

118. The स् of सद् and ष्वञ्ज after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ष् ॥

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two स's, as ससाद् and सत्स्वञ्ज ॥ After a preposition, the first स will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus अभिससाद्, परिससाद्, निषसाद्, विषसाद्, परिषस्वञ्जेः, परिषस्वञ्जाते, परिषस्वञ्जिरे, अभिषस्वञ्जे ॥ The nasal of स्वञ्ज is elided though here, the लिट् affix is not क्तिन्, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (I. 2. 5 and 6).

The word स्वञ्ज does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika :—सतो लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जे रूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

निव्यभिष्योऽव्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-वि-अभिष्यः, अद्-व्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्याद्भव्याये छन्दसि विषये मूर्धन्यादेशो न भवति वा ।

119. The ष् is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अभि, when the augment अद् intervenes.

Thus न्यपीदत् or न्यसीदत् पिता नः; व्यपीदत्; or व्यसीदत् पिता नः; अभ्यपीदत् or अभ्यसीदत् ॥

The anuvṛitti of सद् and स्त्रञ्ज is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, न्यदौत्, अभ्यदौत् or अभ्यस्तौत् ॥

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ १ ॥ पठानि ॥ रषाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्यौ चेन्निति निति निति नौ भवतः ।
 वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋवर्णाच्चाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. After र् and ष्, the ण् is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥ So also after ष; as, कृष्णाति, पुष्पाति, वृष्णाति ॥

The letter ष् is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras: for न् will be changed into ष् when preceded by ष् by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe अग्नि-
 नेयति, वायुर्नेयति ॥

Vārt.—So also after the letter ऋ ॥ As तिसृणाम्, अतसृणाम्, मातृणाम्, पितृणाम् ॥

This vārtika may well be dispensed with: because the र् in the sūtra is the common *sound* र् which we perceive both in र् and ऋ; and so the र् will denote both the vowel ऋ and the consonant र्. See contra. VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter ऋ has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the र् sound of a quarter mātrā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will *intervene* between the र्-sound and the subsequent न्, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception अर् of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of ऋ is not a *full* vowel of one mātrā, but is of half-mātrā, being only a fragment of ऋ, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra अर्, it has no separate

स्यात् or प्रबल or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The ज change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñāpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnādi list there we find नूनमन् as an *exception*, implying that न is *generally* changed to ज after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नूनमन् as a jñāpaka; that after the *letter* ङ also the ज change takes place.

अह्कुप्पाङ्नुम्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह्-कु-पु-आङ्-नुम्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अह् कु पु आङ् नुम् इत्येतैर्व्यवायेपि रेफपकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति ।

2. The substitute ज् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह् or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment नुम् intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyāhāra अह् stands for vowels and the letters ह व र. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, युरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्कोज्, मूर्खोज्, गर्गेज्, अर्धेज् ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. हर्षेज्, रेफेज्, गर्भेज्, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणङ्गम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) गिरा-णङ्गम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अह् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीवम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is हारित (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहणम् from वृह वृहृ हिसार्ये ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into 'anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीवम् from ह्विः प्रीणनार्यः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्कोज्, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of व ॥

पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात्, संज्ञायाम्, अगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्याग्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य गकारवर्जिताद् नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

3. So also, न् is replaced by ज्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

As वृणसः, वार्द्धीणसः (a kind of antelope), खरणसः, वृषणखा ॥ See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe; कृगयनम् ॥

Some say, that this sūtra is a नियम or a restrictive rule, and not a विधि or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a *Name*, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समानपद, though composed of two or more words or पद ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ज when preceded by र or व. But the present sūtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a *Name*, as not in चर्मनासिका ॥ The word पूर्वपद is a relative term and connotes an उत्तरपद ॥ The present sūtra therefore applies to those cases where the र or व is in the पूर्वपद, and न occurs in the उत्तरपद ॥ It therefore, does not apply to ताद्धित words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्वपद ॥ In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्वपद, but there is no properly speaking उत्तरपद ॥ Thus खरणस्यापत्यं = खरणपायणः (IV.1.99). Here the affix अयन is equivalent to अपत्यं, and खरण is the Pûrvapada. But the affix अयन not being a Pada, we cannot call it an uttara pada. Hence न will be changed into ज though खरणपायण is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also मानुभोगाय हितः = मानुभोगीणः with ख affix. Similarly in करणामियः, the words र and न both occur in the Pûrvapada and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ज, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समानपद in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to निख्यं पदं i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समानपद means, a 'simple-word'. The present sūtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समास, there being a division of पूर्वपद and an उत्तरपद, we cannot say that a compound is a समानपद or indivisible word. Hence this sūtra is a विधि ॥

The sūtra should be thus divided:—पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम् one sūtra, and अग्नः another. So that every rule relating to ज change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिध्रका-शारिका-कोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति वक्षते । पुरगा मिश्रका सिध्रका शारिका कोटराग्ने इत्येतेभ्यः पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

4. The न of वन, is changed into ज, when preceded by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrakâ, śarikâ, koṭarâ, and

agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदान् and संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, निम्नकावणम्, सिद्धकावणम्, कोटरावणम्, अग्नेवणम् (II. 2. 31) चारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अग्नेवणम् is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ण for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, shows that this is a restrictive or निबन्धन rule. The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरवनं, रातधारवनम्, असिपत्रवनम् ॥

प्रनिरन्तःशरेक्षुप्लक्षाम्नकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥
 प्र-निर-अन्तर्-शर-इक्षु-प्लक्ष-आम्र-कार्ष्य-खदिर-पीयूक्षाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ प्र निर अन्तर् शर इक्षु प्लक्ष आम्र कार्ष्य खदिर पीयूक्षा इत्येतेभ्य उन्तरत्वे वननकारत्वे संज्ञायाम्
 संज्ञायामपि णकारादेशो भवति ।

5. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kārshya, khadira, and pīyūkshā.

Thus प्रवणे वटम्; निर्वणे प्रतिधीवते, अन्तर्वणे, शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम्, प्लक्षवणम्, आम्रवणम्, कार्ष्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयूक्षवणम् ॥

The words प्रवणं and निर्वणं are प्राक्- compounds. अन्तर्वणं is an Avyayi-bhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ओषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिवान्धि अत्यूर्वपदं वनस्पतिवान्धि तत्स्थानिभिन्नादुन्तरत्वे वननकारत्वे णकार आदेशो भवति
 विभाषा ।

वार्तिकः ॥ द्व्यन्तरभ्यक्षरेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārika फली वनस्पतिर्ज्ञेयो वृक्षाः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।

ओषधः फनपाकान्ता लता गुल्माद्य वीरुधः ॥

6. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

When the pūrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ This is an optional rule. Thus :—सूर्वावनम् or सूर्वावणम् ;

सूर्वावणम् or सूर्वावनम् ॥ Here सूर्वा and सूर्वा are names of औषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीष-वनं or शिरीषवनम् ; बद्दीवनं or बद्दीवनं ॥

Vart:—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ; भद्रशरुवनम् ॥

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words इरका &c. As इरिकावनम्. तिमिरकावनम् ॥

Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति also ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kārika:—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, औषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

अहोऽदन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, अदन्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तं अन्पूर्वपरं तत्स्यान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्थाहो नकारस्य ञकार आदेशो भवति ।

7. The ञ is the substitute of न of अहन्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पूर्वाह्नः “fore-noon” ; अपराह्नः “after-noon”.

Why do we say “ending in अ” ? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अह् is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अह् being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus शीर्षाह्नी शरत् ॥ The word अह् in the sūtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4), वाहनं (VIII.4.8), यानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix ह् (V. 4. 91), and अह् substitution by V. 4. 88. The word शीर्षाह्नी is a Bahuvrihi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix ह् does not apply to it. The feminine ह्नीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134.

वाहनमाहितात् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहनम्, आहितात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहितवाचि अन्पूर्वपरं तत्स्यान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वाहननकारस्य ञकार आदेशो भवति ।

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ञ, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इञ्जुवाहनम् ‘a sugar-cart’. शरवाहनम् “a reed-cart”. र्भवाहनम् ‘a hay-cart’.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित ॥

Why do we say “denoting the thing carried” . Observe शक्तिवाहनम् “a vehicle belonging to Dakshi”.

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह्, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipâtana of this sūtra.

पानं देशे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्याग्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य देशाभिधाने णकार भादेशो भवति ।

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान is formed by the affix ल्युट् III. 3. 113. Thus क्षीरपाण उद्दीनराः = क्षीरपाणं देशं 'the milk-drinking Uđīnaras'. सुरापाणः प्राच्याः 'the wine-drinking Prāchyas'. सौवीरपाणा बाह्लीकाः "the sauvīra-drinking Bāhlikas". कषायपाणा गान्धाराः &c.

Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दक्षिपानं the drink of the Dākshis.

The words उद्दीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

वा भावकरणयोः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भाव-करणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे करणे अथः पानशब्दस्तरीयस्य नकारस्य णकार भादेशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्याग्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाप्रकरणे गिरिनद्यासीनाद्युपसंख्यानम् ।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" कषायपाणम् or कषायपानम् 'drinking of kashāya'. सुरापाणम् or सुरापानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः of क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vart :— Optionally so in the case of गिरिनी &c. Thus गिरिनी or गिरिणी; अक्रनरी or अक्रणरी, अक्रनितम्बा or अक्रणितम्बा ॥

प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिमक्तिषु च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । प्रातिपदिकान्ते नुम्विभक्तौ च यो नकारस्तस्य पूर्वपदस्याग्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकार भादेशो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युवासीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

11. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपदिकान्त first. माषवापिनौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'māsha-sowing' formed by णिन् under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a नुम् augment माषवापाणि or माषवापा नि, ब्रीहियापाणि or ब्रीहियापाणि nom. pl. neut. The. augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 from माषान् वपयन्ति = माषवाप with कर्मणि ङण्, the plural णि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, ब्रीहियापेण or ब्रीहियापेन ॥

The word प्रातिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prâtipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prâtipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृभोगीणः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word माषवापिणी or णी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim :—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृत्विः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prâtipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As भार्ययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ प्रपञ्चानि is a gati-samas, र्शिर्घाङ्गी शरत् ॥

एकाशुत्तरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाशुत्तरपदं यत् स एकाशुत्तरपदः । तस्मिन्नेकाशुत्तरपदसमासे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिसु पूर्वपदस्याभिमित्ताशुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न् of the second member, provided that the न् is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृषहणौ and वृषहणः 'the Vṛitra-killer'. क्षीरपाणि "Drinkers of milk': सुरपाणि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of नुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरपेण and सुरपेण are examples of case-terminations.

Why the letter ञ is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

कुमति च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गवति चोत्तरपदे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्याग्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य ञकारादेशो भवति ।

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ञ in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वक्षयुगिणौ, वक्षयुगिणः, स्वर्गकामिणौ, वृषगामिणौ ॥ नुम् :—वक्षयुगाणि, खरयुगाणि ॥ विभक्तिः—वक्षयुगेण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वक्षयुगिणौ is a compound of वक्ष् with युगिन् (the affix इनि is added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्त i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि ञोपदेशस्य ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, ञोपदेशस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञ उपदेशे यस्यासौ ञोपदेशः । ञोपदेशस्य धातोर्द्यो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्याग्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य ञकारादेशो भवति असमासेऽपि समासेऽपि ।

14. Of a root which has ञ in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samâsa, the न is changed into ञ ॥

The word ञोपदेश means a root which is enunciated in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ञ ॥ Thus प्रणमति 'he bows'. परिणमति, प्रणायकः 'a leader' परिणायकः &c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रणायकः=प्रगता नायका अस्माद् देशात् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word प्र is not an upasarga, but a mere nipâta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, प्र is upasarga here with regard to गत् understood, and not with regard to नी ॥

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛitti of the word पूर्वपद, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāsas only, for there only we have pûrvapada. By using the word असनासे it is shown that the adhikāra of pûrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्वपद ॥

Why do we say "having ण in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दति, प्रनर्दितुम्, प्रनर्दकः ॥ For the root नर्द is recited in Dhātupāṭha with न ॥ There are eight such roots नर्द, नाद, नाय्, नाध्, नन्, नक्, नृ, नृत् ॥ See VI. 1. 65.

हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिनु-मीना, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनु मीना इत्येतौर्ध्वसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारोदेशो भवति ।

15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुतः, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीतः ॥ The root हि belongs to Svādi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa नु technically ह्यु; and the root मी belongs to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa णा ॥ In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from नु to णी and ना to मी, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an अच् or vowel is like the principal. See I. 1. 57.

आनि लोट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनि, लोट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्तते । आनीत्येतस्य लोडादेशस्योपसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारोदेशो भवति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपाणि, प-रिषिपाणि, प्रवाणि, परिवाणि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपाणि मांसानि ॥ Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकृष्टा वपा देषु, तानि ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट् in the sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the Imperative affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अयर्थद् ग्रहणे &c. Moreover in the noun प्रवपाणि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim अत् क्रियायुक्ताः प्राद्व-स्तं प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

नेर्गद-नद-पत-पद-घु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-धाति-द्वाति-प्साति-षपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-वेग्धिषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, गद-नद-पत-पद-घु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-धाति-द्वाति-प्साति-षपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-वेग्धिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थामिभिसादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारोदेशो भवति गद नद पत पद घु मा स्याति हन्ति याति धाति द्वाति प्साति षपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति वेग्धि इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The ष् is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mât 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yâ 'to go', vâ 'to blow', drâ 'to flee', psâ 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', sam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गद्ः, प्रणिगदति, परिणिगदति	भद्ः, प्रणिभदति, परिणिभदति
पद्ः, प्रणिपदति, परिणिपदति,	पद्ः, प्रणिपद्यते, परिणिपद्यते
धुः, प्रणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति, प्रणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति	
माद्ः, प्रणिमयीते, परिणिमयीते	मेद्ः, प्रणिमयते, परिणिमयते

Ishii:—By the word मा in the sūtra, both verbs माद् and मेद् are to be taken and not the roots मी or नि or मा माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. i. 50.

स्वति	प्रणिष्यति, परिणिष्यति	हन्ति	प्रणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
वाति	प्रणिव्याति, परिणिव्याति	वाति	प्रणिव्याति, परिणिव्याति
ह्राति	प्रणिह्राति, परिणिह्राति	प्साति	प्रणिप्साति, परिणिप्साति

The last five roots belong to Adâdi class.

वपति	प्रणिवपति, परिणिवपति	वहति	प्रणिवहति, परिणिवहति
शाम्बति	प्रणिशाम्बति, परिणिशाम्बति (VII. 3. 74)		
चिनोति	प्रणिचिनोति, परिणिचिनोति	देग्धि	प्रणिदेग्धि, परिणिदेग्धि

Ishii:—The above change takes place even when the augment भद् inter-venes.. As प्रण्यद्गद्, परिण्यद्गद् ॥

The roots स्वति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to बद् लुक् form of these roots (VII. i. 6).

शेषे विभाषाकस्त्रादावषान्तउपदेशे ॥ १८ ॥ पठानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकस्त्रादौ, अषान्ते, उपदेशे ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ त्रैपिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च । अकारखकापादिरपकारान्तश्च उपदेशे यौ धातुः शेषस्तस्मिन्परत उपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य नर्नकारस्य विभाषा जकार आदेशो भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न् of नि is replaced by ञ्, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क् or ख्, nor ends with च ॥

The words नेः and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sūtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणिपद्यति or प्रनिपद्यात्, प्रणिभिनत्ति or प्रनिभिनत्ति ॥

Why do we say अकत्वाद्दो "not beginning with क or ख"? Observe प्रणि करोति, प्रनिस्त्रादति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अषान्तः "not ending in ष"? Observe प्रनिपिनष्टि ॥

Why do we say उपदेशे "in original enunciation"? So that the prohibition may apply to forms like प्रनिष्कार, प्रनिष्कार, प्रनिपेक्षति (VIII. 2. 41). Here षकार &c, do not begin with क or ख nor does विष् end with ष but with क् (VIII. 2. 41) but in the Dhātupāṭha the verb कृ and खद् begin with क and ख and विष् ends with ष, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रनिषेष्टा and प्रनिषेक्षति from the root विष् ॥ Here though the verb now ends with ष by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or Dhātupāṭha, it ends with ष ॥

अनितेः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तिर्नकारस्योपसर्गस्याभिनिस्तानुत्तरस्य जकारादेशो भवति ।

19. The न of the verb अन् 'to breathe', is changed into ञ, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.

Thus प्र + अन्ति = प्राणिति 'he breathes'. पप्राणिति ॥ For इद् augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिनिस्तानुत्तरस्यानितिनकारस्य परन्ते वर्तमानस्य जकारादेशो भवति ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ञ, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे प्राण् ! हे पराण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 sub, by which final न् in a pada is not changed into ञ ॥ The word अन्तः in the sūtra is to be understood to be equivalent to परान्तः, and the rule applies when the word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्तः is taken to be a part of the last sūtra, and has the meaning of 'proximity'. That is the न् is changed to ञ, if the र is not separated from the न् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि + अन्ति = परिणिति ॥ In this view, another अन्तः should be taken for the sake of final न्, in हे प्राण् ॥

According to others the form परिणिति is valid, and they do not connect अन्तः with the last sūtra.

The word प्राण् is a द्विवर्ण formed word, and the न् final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other place, when the न् is padānta, it would be dropped; and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this sūtra.

उभौ साभ्यासस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साभ्यासस्यानितेऽपसर्गस्याभिमित्तादुत्तरस्त्वोभयोर्नकारयोर्नकार आदेशो भवति ।

21. Both the *ns* are changed into *ṅ* in the reduplicated forms of the verb *अन्*, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राणिषति and Aorist of the Causative प्राणिषत्, and so also पराणिषति and पराणिषत् ॥

If the maxim पूर्वचासिञ्जीवनद्विवचने be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्राणि + ह् + णि ॥ Here the affix ह् requires reduplication, and the present sūtra requires *ṅ* change of *n* ॥ The *जल्म* being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राणि + ष + ति, and then the reduplicate *ṅ* intervenes between the cause *प्र* and the root-*ञ्* of ति, and so this *n* would not be changed to *ṅ* ॥ If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the *जल्म* rule, as प्राणि + ह् + ति, and then reduplicate ति; and we get the form प्राणिषति even without this sūtra.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present sūtra? The sūtra is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is *anitya* or not of universal application. And because it is *anitya*, that the form झोञ्जङ् is evolved by reduplicating ह् (See VIII. 2. 1).

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य हन्तिनकारस्य अपसर्गस्याभिमित्तादुत्तरस्य अकार आदेशो भवति ।

22. The *n*, when preceded by *अ*, in the root हन्, is changed to *ṅ*, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change,

Thus प्रहण्यते, परिहण्यते, प्रहणनम् परिहणनम् ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when preceded by अ'? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As प्रहन्ति, परिहन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54),

Why do we say अत् "preceded by short अ"? Observe मर्चयति and मर्चयति, the Aorist of हन् by the affix चिष् (III. 1. 60) प्रहन् + चिष् = प्रचन् + चिष् (VIII. 3. 54) = प्रचान् + चिष् (VIII. 2. 116) = प्रचान्ति 'he killed'. Here *n* being preceded by the long आ is not changed.

घमोर्घा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घमोः, घा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारप्रकारयोः परतो हन्विनकारयोःपसर्गस्याभिमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा जकापदेशो भवति ।

23. Optionally when *घ* or *म* follow, the *ञ* of *han* is changed to *ṅ*, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहण्यः, परिहण्यः, or प्रहन्वः and परिहन्वः, प्रहणम् or प्रहन्मः, परिहण्यः or परिहन्मः ॥

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule,

अन्तरदेशे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्, अदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःशब्दादुत्तरस्य हन्तिनकारस्वात्पूर्वस्य ञकारादेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ञ, when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्हन्वते and अन्तर्हननं ॥

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेशे?" Observe अन्तर्हननी]

देशः ॥

The phrase अन्तर्हन्वते "preceded by short अ" of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तर्हन्ति ॥

Why do we say "short अ?" See, अन्तरघानि ॥ The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ञ change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ञ change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

अयनं च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयनम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरघानि वर्तते । अयननकारस्य चान्तः शब्दादुत्तरस्य ञकारादेशो भवति ।

25. The न of अयन is changed to ञ, when preceded by the word अन्तर्, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरघनं शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say "not denoting a country"? Observe अन्तरघने देशः ॥ This ञ change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for अदेशे purposes. The word अयन is formed by ल्युट् added to अच् or हच् ॥

छन्दस्युद्वग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, ऋत्-अवग्रहात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तावग्रहात्पूर्वशब्दादुत्तरस्य ञकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

26. In the Chhandas, न of a second term is changed into ञ, when the prior term ends with a short ऋ even when there is an avagraha or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, न् becomes ञ्, after a ऋ, after which in Pada-pāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words नृमजाः &c, are separated, and are read as नृ, मजाः ॥ The word अवग्रहात् = विशिष्टय पठ्यते, as in Pada-pāṭha. ऋद्वग्रहात् means 'after a short ऋ which is an avagraha'. The ऋ here, of course, means 'a word ending in ऋ', because ऋ alone cannot be a pūrvapada. The जल्व took place during saṅhitā, and in Pada reading this ञ would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word avagraha in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saṅhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न् is changed to ञ् in the Saṅhitā state in these; and the ञ् is retained, when

in the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The व is changed to ञ after that क् only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that क् which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमयाः, वितुयाणम्, the क् is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नृ or वितु; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the ञ change.

The word पूर्वपदान् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus वितु याणम्, नृ मयाः ॥ Here क् is अवग्रह ॥ The change of व into ञ is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in sahitā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नञ् धातुस्थोरुबुभ्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्व, उरु, बुभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नस् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य ञकारदेशो भवति धातुस्थान्निन्तादुत्तरस्थोरुवभात्पुत्राभ्याश्च ञन्त्विति विषये ।

27. In the Chhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नस् is changed into ञ, when it comes after a root having a र or ष or after the words उरु and बु (बु) ॥

Thus अग्ने रक्षाणः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us'. शिक्षा नो अस्मिन् (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरुः—उरुणस्काधि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) बु—अभीषुणः सखीनाम् (Rig IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्वं ऊषुणः ऊतये (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नस् is here the pronoun नस्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस् substitute of नासिका ॥ In the next sūtra, however, both नस् are taken. धातुस्य means 'that which exists in a dhātu', namely र् and ष् when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु; and बु means बुभ्यम्, and is exhibited with ष-change. It does not mean the affix बु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इन्द्रो भवा गृहेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2rd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष् has the sense of ज्ञान in the Veda. कृषी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीषु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in ऊषुणः &c.

उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निन्तादुत्तरस्य नसो नकारस्य ञकारदेशो भवति ।

28. The न of नस् is changed diversely into ञ, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणः शूद्रः; प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र नो मुञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं बुद्धं ॥ The word छन्दासि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं बुद्धम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न् of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ञ्". There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāshya. For ओत्परः may have two meanings:—(1) ओकारान् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओकारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ञ् change would be required in प्रणो मुञ्चतं; in the second case, there should be no ञ् change in प्रणोवनिर्वेवता ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

कृत्यचः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृति, अच ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यो यो नकारो ऽच उत्तरस्थोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य ञकारदेशो भवति ।
वार्तिकः ॥ कृत्यस्य ञत्वे निर्विण्णस्योपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

29. The न् of a Kṛit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ञ्, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Kṛit affixes in which this change takes place :—अन (यु), मान (ज्ञानच् &c VII. 2. 82), अनीय, (III. 1. 96) अनि, (III. 3. 111) इनि (िनि III. 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of निष्ठा (VIII. 2. 42) ॥

Thus

अनः प्रयाणम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाणम् ॥ मानः प्रयायमाणम्, परियायमाणम् ॥
अनीय प्रयाणीयम्, परिवाणीयम् ॥ अनि अमयाणि, अपरियाणि ॥
इनि प्रयायिन्, प्रयायिणौ, परियायिन्, परियायिणौ

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीणः, परिहीणः, प्रहीणवान् परिहीणवान् ॥ Long ई by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अचः 'preceded by a vowel?' Observe प्रमुमः, परिमुमः the Nishṭhā of मुञ् ॥ It is thus formed: मुञ् + ऋ = मुञ् + त = मुञ् + न (VII. 2. 45, the root मुञ् is read as मुञ्जे कौटिल्ये in the dhatūpāṭha, having an indicative ओ, thus giving scope to the rule). मुञ् + न = मुन् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = मुम ॥

Vārti:—The word निर्विण्णः should be enumerated in this place. As निर्विण्णासि खलसंगेन ॥ निर्विण्णाहमन्वासेन ॥

षोडशोऽपि ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्यन्ताद्यो विहितः कृम्यत्ययः तस्यस्य नकारयोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा ञकारदेशो भवति

30. The **न्** of a Kṛit - affix ordained after a causative verb (**प्यन्त**), is optionally changed to **श्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus **प्रधापणम्** or **प्रधापनम्**, **परिधापणम्** or **परिधापनम्**, **प्रधाप्यमाणम्** or **प्रधाप्यमानम्**, **प्रधापणीयम्** or **प्रधापनीयं**, **अप्रधापणिः** or **अप्रधापनिः**, **प्रधापिणो** or **प्रधापिणो** ॥

Why have we used the word **विहितं** 'ordained' in explaining the sūtra ? Because the change takes place, even where the **कृन्** affix does not follow directly after the affix **णि**; where a third affix such as **दक्** intervenes. As **प्रधाप्यमाणम्** ॥ The **णे**: being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (I. 1. 72), the kṛit - affix should come immediately after **णि**.

हलश्चेजुपधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्-उपधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादिर्बो धातुरिजुपधस्तस्मात्परौ नः कृत्त्यस्य नकारस्याच उक्तस्त्वोपसर्गस्याग्निनिःसादुत्तरस्य विभाषा षकारादेशो भवति ।

31. A kṛit - affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate **इच्** vowel, changes optionally its **न्**, which is preceded by a vowel, into **श्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase **कृत्यचः** is understood here. Thus **प्रकोपणम्** or **प्रकोपनम्**, **परिकोपणम्** or **परिकोपनम्** ॥

Why do we say **हलः** 'beginning with a consonant' ? Observe **प्रेहणम्** and **प्रीहणम्** where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from **ईह** **चेहायाच्** and **कह वितर्के** ॥

Why do we say **इजुपधात्** 'having a penultimate **इच्** vowel' ? Observe **प्रवपणम्** and **परिवपणम्**; no option.

By the rule **कृत्यचः** the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The **न** of the kṛit - affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See **परिसुप्तः**

The word **हलः** in the sūtra should be interpreted as **हलादेः**, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in **हल्**" ॥ For an **इजुपधा** verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word **हलः** in the text would have been useless had it meant **हलन्तात्** ॥

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादेः, सनुमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुमो हलन्ताद्भातोर्विहितो नः कृत्त्यस्य नकारस्याच उक्तस्त्वोपसर्गस्याग्निनिःसादुत्तरस्य षकारादेशो भवति ।

32. A kṛit - affix ordained after a verb beginning with an **इच्** vowel, having the augment **नुम्** in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its **न** into **ण**, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word **इत्**: of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means **इलन्तात्**, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an **इजादि** root to commence with a **इत्**; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus **प्रेङ्खणम्**, **परेङ्खणम्** from **इखि गत्यर्थः**; the **नुम्** is added because it is **इदित् ॥** **प्रेङ्गणम्**, **परेङ्गणम्**, **प्रोम्भणम्** **परोम्भणम् ॥** In **उम्भ पूणे** the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to **प्रेम्बनम्**, because **नुम्** here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a **नियम** or restriction. That is, only in the case of **इजादि सजुष** verbs the change takes place, not in other **सजुष** verbs. Thus **प्रमङ्गनम्**, **परिमङ्गनम्** from the root **मगि सर्पणे ॥**

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to **प्यन्त** verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word **विहितः** in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the **kṛit**-affix must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the **kṛit**-affix is *ordained* after a vowel-ending (**णि**) verb, and the vowel is elided *after* the adding of the affix. So that *before* the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

वा निसनिक्षनिन्दाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, निस-निक्ष-निन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्त्तते । निस निक्ष निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्योपसर्गस्याग्निभिन्नादुत्तरस्य वा ञकारादेशो भवति ।

33. The **न** of **निस** **निक्ष** and **निन्द** is changed to **ण** optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus **प्रणिसनम्** or **प्रनिसनम्**, **प्रणिक्षणम्** or **प्रनिक्षणम्**, **प्रणिव्वनम्** or **प्रनिम्बनम् ॥**

These verbs are written with **ण** in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of **न** into **ण** would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root **णिसि** means 'to kiss', **णिसि रोषणे**, and **णिवि कुत्सायाम् ॥**

न माभूपकमिगामिव्यायिवेषाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, मा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-व्यायि-वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मा शीतो भू सप्तायाम् पू पवने कमि काप्तौ गमि गतौ व्यायि वृजौ वेप कम्पने इत्येतेषादुपसर्गस्याग्निभिन्नादुत्तरस्य कृत्यस्य नकारस्य ञकारादेशो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्यन्तामां आशीनादुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

34. The **न** of a **kṛit**-affix is not changed to **ण**, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,

when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा 'to shine', भू 'to be', पू 'to purify', क्मि 'to be brilliant', गमि 'to go', प्यायि 'to increase', वेप 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus :—

भा प्रभानम्, परिभानम् भू प्रभवनम्, परिभवनम् पू प्रपवनम्, परिपवनम् ॥

Ishti:—The verb पूम् is to be taken and not the verb पूह् ॥ In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सोमस्य ॥

क्मि प्रक्रमनम् परिक्रमनम् ॥ गमि प्रगमनम् परिगमनम् ॥

प्यायि प्रप्यायनम्, परिप्यायनम् ॥ वेप् प्रवेपनम्, परिवेपनम् ॥

Vart:—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their कृति-affix. As प्रभापनम्, परिभापनम् ॥

वात्पदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वात्, पदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारात्पदान्ताद्गुणस्य नकारस्य षकारादेशो न भवति ।

35. After a ष final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ए ॥

Thus निष्पानम्, दुष्पानम् ; the visarga is changed to ए here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्षिष्पानम् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also बह्वृष्पानम् (II. 1. 32). The ष is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "वात् after a ष?" Observe निर्षदः ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति ॥ The word पदान्त is equivalent to पदं भन्त or Locative Tatpurusha ; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. सुसर्षिष्केण (ins. sg.) सुयजुष्केण ॥ Here the क् is added by V. 4. 154. घोभनं सर्षित्से = सुसर्षिष्क (a Bahuvrihi). The ष is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क्, the word सुसर्षिस् is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus स् (ष्) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ष being final in the first term.

नशोः षान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशोः, षान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशोः षकारान्तस्य षकारादेशो न भवति ।

36. ष is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ष् ॥

When the ष is changed to ए in नश्, the न of नश् is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The नुष् ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and ष changed ए by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say षान्तस्य? Observe प्रणश्यति, परिणश्यति ॥ The word भन्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रनहश्यति, which did end with ष् though the ष has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the ष् of नश् is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ए is changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 41 ; and the नुष् is added by VII. 1. 60.

पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus वृत्तान्, वृत्तान्, धरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

पदव्यवायेपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेऽपि सति निमित्तनिमित्तिनोर्नकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ पदव्यवाये ऽतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ।

38. The न् is not changed to ण् when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न् ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरङ्गयोगेन, प्रायनद्धम्, पर्यवनद्धम्, प्रगाम्नयानः, परिगाम्नयानः ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, अङ्ग, अवन &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vart.—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्ङ्गोमयेन, घृष्कगोमयेन ॥ Here गो takes the affix मयद् by IV. 3. 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मयद् and the first word. The author of Mahābhāshya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the word पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

क्षुब्नादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्नादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुब्ना इत्येवमादिषु घञ्देशु नकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

39. The ण् is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

The 'not' of sūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुब्नाति, so also in क्षुब्नीतः, क्षुब्नन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नूनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥

The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix बृह्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥

वृन्दु, वृमोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, मन्दन, निवेश, निवास, भग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14. चरनिवेशः, चरनिवास, चरभिः, दर्भानूपः ॥ All these are Names.

After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥

हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुचेर and हरि and कर्म followed by वन do not cause change in the न् of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुब्ना (क्षुब्नाति), 2 नूनमनः; 3 नन्दिन्, 4 मन्दन, 5 नगर, एताभ्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञार्था प्र धोज्ज-
यन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दनः, 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृत्तिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परितर्जनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शरपत्रिः, 23 शर्भानूपः, 24 आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी). क्षुभ्ना, 25 वृन्दु, नूनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन- बद्ध नृती, 27 गिरिनदी. 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्यभोगीन, 29 चतुर्होवन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनीत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार. भ्रुकृतिगण.

स्तोः इचुना इचुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, इचुना, इचुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारवर्गाभ्यां सत्रिपाते शकारवर्गादेशो भवतः ।

40. The letters स् and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to ष and palatals respectively.

The rule of वयासंख्य does not apply here with regard to first part स्तो इचुना ॥ The स in contact with श is changed to ष but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of च class. Similarly letters of त class coming in contact with श or a letter of च class, are changed to च class. The rule of वयासंख्य, however, applies to the substitutes, namely स is changed to ष, and तु to तु ॥

1st. स in contact with शः as, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षश्चेते, so also प्लक्षश्चेते ॥

2nd. स in contact with चुः—as, वृक्षस् + चिनोति = वृक्षचिनोति, प्लक्षचिनोति, वृक्षच्छा-
इवति, प्लक्षच्छावयति ॥

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चुः—अग्निचित् + चिनोति = अग्निच्छि चिनोति, so also सोमसुच्छिचिनोति, अग्निच्छिच्छावयति, अग्निच्छिच्छवयति, अग्निच्छिच्छकारम्, सोमसुच्छावयति, सोमसुच्छवयति, सोमसुच्छा-
कारम्, अग्निच्छिच्छकारः, सोमसुच्छकारः ॥ Similarly मरुश्च gives मरुञ्जति, the स is changed to ष by शलाञ्जश्च शाशि VIII. 4. 53, and then this ष is changed to a palatal i. e. to च here; and च obtained by जश्च rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from भ्रुञ्च we have भ्रुञ्जति ॥

5th. चकार followed by शकारः as, वञ्च + न (III. 3. 90) = वञ्च + न् = वञ्चः, वाच् + न = वाच्ञा ॥ In fact the instrumental case इचुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इचु, or इचु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th.(a) स followed by चु is changed into षः as, भ्रुश्च + ति = भ्रुश्च + च + ति (III. 1. 77. VI. 1. 16) = भ्रुश्च + ति = भ्रुश्च + ति = (VIII. 4. 53) = भ्रुश्चति ॥ Similarly मरुश्च forms मरुञ्जति, द्रव्य forms वृश्चति ॥

The aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो षोः इचुः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

इचुना इचुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचुना, इचुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारवर्गाभ्यां सत्रिपाते शकारवर्गादेशो भवतः ।

41. The letters स् and dentals in contact with च् and cerebrals, are changed into च् and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स् with च् as, वृक्षस् + षण्डे = वृक्षष्ण्डे; लक्षष्ण्डे ॥

(2) स् with ङ्, as, वृक्षस् + टीकते = वृक्षटीकते, वृक्षङ्कारः, लक्षटीकते and लक्षङ्कारः ॥

(3) तु with च् as पेष् + ता = पेष्ठा, पेष्टुम्, पेष्टव्यम्, कृषीट्, कृषीष्ठाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with ङ्, as, अग्निचित् + टीकते = अग्निचिद्टीकते, सोमसुद्टीकते, अग्निचिद्ङ्कारः, अग्निचिद्ङ्ङीनः, अग्निचिद्ङ्ङौकते, अग्निचिष्णकार, सोमसुद्ङ्कारः, सोमसुद्ङ्ङीनः, सोमसुद्ङ्ङौकते, सोमसुद्ङ्ङौकते, सोमसुद्ङ्ङौकते, सोमसुद्ङ्ङौकते, सोमसुद्ङ्ङौकते ॥

The root अत् अतिक्रमणहिंसयोः, and अद् अभियोगे, are read in the Dhātupāṭha with त् and द् penultimate, in order that when the affix चिष् is added to them, the final द् and ङ् being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be अत् and अद् ending in त् and द् ॥ Another reason is that the sūtra VI. 1. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the त् and द् are changed, अद्दति and अद्दति ॥

न पदान्ताद्दोरनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, दोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्ताद्दुर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तोः दुर्लभं न भवति नाभिलेखनीयत्वात् ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनाम्नवृत्तिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After ङ् final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus श्लिद् + साये = श्लिद्साये, मधुलिद्साये, श्लिद्तरति, मधुलिद्तरति ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद् + ते = ईद् + ते = ईद्दे ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after ङ्'? Observe सर्षिष् + तमम् = सर्षिटमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nām'? Observe षद् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārt:—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवति: ninety-six, and षण्णगरी 'six cities'.

तोः षि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, षि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य षकारे यदुक्तं मन्त्र भवति ।

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when च् follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अग्निचित् + षण्डे = अग्निचित्ण्डे ॥ अनाम्ण्डे, महान्ण्डे ॥

शात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारादुत्तरस्य तवर्गस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ।

44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तोः are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, प्रच्छ + न (III. 3. 90) = प्रश् + न (VI. 4. 19) = प्रश्नः, विष्णुः &c.

यरोनुनासिकेनुनासिको वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिके, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यरः परान्तस्यानुनासिके परतो वानुनासिकारेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यरोनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषार्या नित्यवचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word परान्त is understood here. Thus वाक् + नयति = वामयति or वाङ्-नयति, अग्निचिद्नयति or अग्निचिन्नयति, विद्मन्नयति or विद्मन्नयति, श्लिष्मन्नयति or श्लिष्मन्नयति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद् + नि = वेदि ॥ Here there is no option. So also शुभ्राति ॥

Vart:—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक् + माचम = वाङ्माचम, किवन्माचम ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मच् and माच् that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उचरो यौ रेफहकारौ ताभ्यामुत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतः ।

46. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word यर् of last sūtra is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus अर्कः, नर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपर्युते ॥

Why do we say अचः 'following a vowel'? Observe ह्रुते, झलवति ॥

अनचि च् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, अचि, च् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उचरस्य यरो द्वे भवतो ऽनचि परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यजो मयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अरः खयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अवसाने च् यरो द्वे भवतः इति वक्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अचः and यरः are understood here.

Thus हृधि + अच = हृध् + अच (VI. 1. 77) = हृध् + अच हृध् + अच (VIII. 4. 53) = हृध् + अच, so also मज्जन् ॥

Why do we say अच: "after a vowel?" Observe कितम्, स्नातम् ॥

Vart:—यणो मयो हे भवतः ॥ This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यणः as ablative and मयः as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra म् are reduplicated after यण् letters." उल्का, बाल्मीकः ॥ Secondly taking यणः as genitive, and मयः as ablative. "The letters यण् are reduplicated after मय् letters". As हृध् + अच, मज्जन् ॥

Vart:—घर्ः खयो हे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of खय् letters, after a sibilant for घर् letters". as रुधात्, रुधात्. Secondly. 'There is reduplication of a sibilant (घर् letters), after खय् letters, ss, वत्सरः, अप्सराः ॥

Vart:—अवसाने च यो हे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of यर् when a Pause ensues. As बाहू, स्वकू, षट्, तत् &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्रोशे, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्रोशे गन्धमाने पुत्रशब्दस्य न हे भवतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्परे चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ वा इतज्जन्धपरइति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ चया द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसाधः ।

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādinī follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी व्याघ्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones'.
— शिशुमारी व्याघ्री ॥

Vart:—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्र पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart:—Optionally so when the words इत and जन्ध follow. As पुत्रइती or पुत्रइती, पुत्रजन्धी or पुत्रजन्धी ॥

Vart:—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of च् pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of घर् pratyāhāra).

As वत्सः becomes वध्त्सः अक्षरम् becomes अक्षरम् and अप्सरा becomes अफ्सरा ॥

शरोचि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरोचि परतो न द्वे भवतः ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 ante. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्षः, अक्षवर्षः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows'? Observe इषवर्षते ॥

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः, चन्द्रः, उष्ट्रः, राष्ट्रम्, भाष्ट्रम् ॥

सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र द्विवचनं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपहृते ॥

दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुच्चारस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शचम्, पाचम्, सूचम्, मूचम् ॥

झलां जहझशि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलाम्, जश्, झशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां स्थाने अच्चार्यो भवति झशि परतः ।

53. In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जच् letters, when झच् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लम् + ता = लढा, so also लङ्गुम्, लङ्गप्यम् ; रोग्धा, रोग्धुम्, रोग्धप्यम् ; बोज्जा, बोज्जुम्, बोज्जप्यम् ॥

Why do we say झशि, 'when a jhaś follows'? Observe वत्तः, इत्यः. इज्जः ॥

अभ्यासे चर्च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्त्तमानानां झलां चपरेषो भवति चकाराज्जम् ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of झच् letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जच् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जच्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

'nearest in place (I. 1. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (अच्) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word अच् has been drawn into the sūtra by the word च 'also'.

Thus चित्स्निषति ॥ Here सन् (Desiderative), is added to the root सन्, the स is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. चिच्छिषति, टिष्कारिषति, तिष्ठासति, पिफकारिषति, हुभूषति, जिषस्सति, हुवैकिषते ॥

If there is चर् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिचीषति, टिटीकिषते, तित्तिषति ॥

The original अच् also remains unchanged. Thus जिअनिषति, हुहुषे, ववै, तिठ्ठे ॥ Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a अच् by a अच् letter.

खरि च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खरि च परतो झलां चरादेशो भवति ।

55. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute चर्, when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चर्: are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus भेर् + ता = भेत्ता, भेस्तुम्, भेत्तव्यम् ; युयुध् + सते = युयुस्सते ; आरिप्सते, आलिप्सते from रम् and लम्, the इस् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of अ of रम् and लम्, and we have रिस्स् and लिस्स् then the first स is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

घाघसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घा, अघसाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां चरिति वर्त्तते । अघसाने वर्त्तमानानां झलां वा चरादेशो भवति ।

56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words झलां चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus वाक् or वाग्, स्वक् or स्वग्, अलिद् or अलिद्, चिद्ग् or चिद्ग् ॥

अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्यस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणः अप्रगृह्यसंज्ञस्यैवसाने वर्त्तमाने ऋनुनासिकारेषो भवति ।

57. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Prāgrihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Prāgrihya (I. 1. 11 &c.) The अण् here

is a Pratyāhāra with the first ष् ॥ Thus हर्षि or हर्षि, नर्षु or नर्षु, कुमारी or कुमारी ॥

Why do we say 'of an अष् vowel?' Observe, कर्षु, हर्षु ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a pragrihya'? Observe अग्नी, बाहू which are pragrihya by I. 1. 11.

अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, ययि, परसवर्णः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य ययि परतः परसवर्णं अदिशो भवति ।

58. In the room of anusvāra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus शक्ति, शक्तिन्, शक्तिव्यम्, उञ्छिता, कुण्डिता, मन्दिता, कम्पिता &c. These are from roots शक्ति शक्ताद्यम्, उञ्छि उञ्छे, कुण्डिरादे, दुन्दि सञ्जौ, कपि चलने ॥ Here नुम् is added because they are उदिन्, and this न् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvāra is changed to ङ् when followed by a guttural क् &c, to ञ् when followed by a palatal च् &c, and so on to ष्, न् and र् ॥

Why do we say when यय् follows'? Observe आक्रंस्यते, आषिकंस्यते ॥

In कुर्वन्ति, वृषन्ति, the न is not changed into ञ, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the ञस्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvāra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with न् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the ञ is never substituted for न् ॥

वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्वानुस्वारस्य ययि परतो वा परसवर्णदिशो भवति ।

59. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कयं चित्रपत्तं उबमानं नभःस्यं पुरषोऽवधीत् or तङ्कयञ्चित्रपत्तङ्कबमानन्भःस्यम्पुरषोऽवधीत् ॥

तोळि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, लि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्णस्व लकारे परतः परसवर्णदिशो भवति ।

60. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अमिषित् + लुनाति = अमिषिल्लुनाति, सोमसुल्लुनाति; भवान् + लुनाति = भवौल्लुनाति, महौल्लुनाति ॥ Here त् has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal ष् is changed to a nasal लँ ॥

उद्ः स्वास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्ः, स्वा स्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् उकारयोः स्या स्तम्भ इत्येतयोः पूर्वसवर्णदिशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उद्ः पूर्वसवर्णत्वे स्कन्देश्चन्युपसंख्यानम् ।

वा० ॥ तौ चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्याता = उद् + थ्याता = उद् + याता (VIII. 4. 65) = उद् + याता (VIII. 4. 55) = उन्थाता, उन्थातुम्, उन्थातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ, as, उत्तम्भिता, उत्तम्भितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्या and स्तम्भ? Compare उन्नात ॥

Vart:—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्कन्द् preceded by उद् ॥ As, अग्ने शूरुस्कन्ः ॥

Vart:—So also when it means a disease. As उल्कन्को नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्, and not स्कन् ॥

ज्ञयो ह्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञयः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञय उत्तरस्य हकारस्य पूर्वसवर्णविशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह्, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra ज्ञय includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाक् + हसति = वाग्घसति or वाग् हसति, श्लिड हसति or हसति, अग्निषिद् घसति or हसति, शिष्टुड भसति or हसति, सोमसुद् घसति or सोमसुद् हसति ॥

Why do we say ज्ञयः 'after a sonant Mute?' Observe माह् हसति, भवान् हसति ॥

शश्छोटि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अवि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञय इति वर्त्तते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च । ज्ञय उत्तरस्य शकारस्यादि परतदक्षकारविशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वात्तिकम् ॥ छत्वमीति वक्तव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute; there is optionally the letter छ when a vowel or य, घ or र follows such श ॥

Though ज्ञय means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words ज्ञय and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sūtra. Thus वाक् + शोते = वाक्छोते or °शोते ॥ अग्निषिच्छते or अग्निषित् शोते, श्लिद् शोते or छोते, शिष्टुच्छते or शोते ॥

Vart:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अच् pratyâhâra follows. The sūtra only gives अद् letters, the vârtika adds the letters ङ, and the nasals. Thus तत् श्लोकेन = तच् छ्लोकेन, तच्छ्वमुणा ॥

हलो यमां यमि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरेषां यमां यमि परतो लापो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word **अन्यतरस्याम्** should be read into the sūtra. Thus **दाय्या** or **दाय्या**, the middle **य** being elided. In **दाय्या** there are two **य**s, one of the affix **ययप्** (III. 3. 99); and the second of **अयङ्** (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). **आदित्य** (formed by doubling **द** by the Vārtika under 47 *ante*), or **आदित्य** 'son of Aditi' In **आदित्य** there are two **द**s, one of **ण्य** (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly **आदित्य देवता अस्य स्थाली पाकस्य = आदित्यः** ॥ Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third **द**, as **आदित्यः** ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle **द** or both the middle **द**'s. Thus **आदित्यः** or **आदित्यः** ॥

Why do we say **हलः** 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe **अन्नम्** when **न्** is preceded by a *vowel*.

Why do we say **यमात्** "of यन् letters"? Observe **अग्निः, अर्घ्यम्** (V. 4. 25) where **य** is not a यन् ॥

Why do we say **यनि** "when यन् follows"? Observe **शाङ्गम्** here **ङ्** is not followed by a यन् ॥

झरो झरि सवर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ झरः, झरि, सवर्णे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हल उकारस्य झरो झरि सवर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (**झर**) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word **हलः** is understood. Thus **प्रतृप्तम्, अवतृप्तम्** have three **त**, namely, one **त** substituted for **भा** by VII. 4. 47, the second **त** resulting from the change of **दृ** to **त** by **चर्त्वं** change, the third **त** is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. **मरुतृप्त** here are four **त**s. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. **मरुत् + षा + क्त = मरुत् + दृत् + त** (VII. 4. 47) the word **मरुत्** being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, vārt) = **मरुत्तत्** ॥

Why do we say **झरः** 'of a jhar'? Compare **शाङ्गम्**, here **ङ्** which is not a **झर** is not elided, though it is followed by a **झर** letter. Why do we say **झरि** 'followed by a jhar'? See **प्रियपञ्चः** ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi compound = **प्रियाः पञ्चासु ॥** The word **प्रिय** stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (*vārt*). The full word is **प्रियापञ्चन्**, the **ञ** is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have **प्रियपञ्चन्**; and then this **ञ्** becomes a palatal **ञ्** ॥ Here **ञ्** is preceded by a **हल्** letter, and itself is a **झर**, and is followed by a homogeneous

letter झ्, but as झ् is not झर्, the च् is not elided. The elided झ is not considered sthānivat, and so च् is considered to be *immediately* followed by झ् ॥

Why do we say सवर्णे 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe सप्तुं. तर्तम् &c, where प् and त् are not homogeneous.

By using the word सवर्णे, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been झरो झरि the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms सिण्डि विण्डि could not have been evolved by the elision of ङ before ङ ॥ For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of सिष् and पिष् ॥ The झ of झम् is elided by VI. 4. III: the ङि is changed to ङि by VI. 4. 101, the च् is changed to च् by VIII. 4. 53, the च् of झम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvāra is again changed to ञ् by VIII. 4. 58; the ङ is changed to ङ, and by the present rule, the preceding च् is elided before this ङ ॥

उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तात्, अनुदात्तस्य, स्वरितः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तादनुदात्तस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितादेशो भवति ।

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudatta vowel which follows an Udatta vowel.

Thus अभिष् + ईलि = अभिषीले ॥ Here ई which was अनुदात्त by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udatta इ of agni.

So also गार्ग्यः, वास्यः ॥ Here यम् is added by IV. 1. 105, and being ङिन् the words are first acute. The final is anudatta, which becomes svarita. So also वैचक्षि and वैचक्षि, the ङप् and ङिप् are anudatta, the root is accented, the ङ of ङप् becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudatta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is असिद्ध, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udatta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदात्तस्वरितोद्वयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्त-स्वरित-उद्वयम्, अ-गार्ग्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोद्वयस्य स्वरितोद्वयस्य चानुदात्तस्य स्वरितो न भवति अगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥ उदात्तोद्वयः = उदात्तपरः ।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Âchâryâs Gârgya, Kâśyapa and Gâlava; when an udatta or a svarita follows the anudatta.

This debars the preceding rule. That anudatta which is *followed* by an Udatta is उदात्तोद्वयः or उदात्तपरः ॥ The word उद्वय means पर in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudatta which is *followed* by a svarita is called स्वरितोद्वयः ॥ These are Bahuvrîhi compounds. Thus उदात्तोद्वयः—गार्ग्य-

स्त्वञ्, वाँस्त्वञ् स्त्वञ् ॥ The word स्त्वञ् is first acute by लिट् accent, before this udatta, the ञ् of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोद्भवः—गाँस्त्वञ्: क्वञ् ॥ The word क्व is svarita being formed by the लिट् affix अत् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding ञ् does not become svarita.

Why do we say "except in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava"? Observe गाँस्त्वञ्: क्वञ्, गाँस्त्वञ् ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उद्भव instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उद्भव is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra with the auspicious word वृद्धिः 'increase' (in Sūtra I. 1. 1): has the word शिव 'the well-wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उद्भव at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

अ अ इति ॥ इत् ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकोच विवृतो ऽपरः संवृतस्तत्र विवृतस्य संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति ।

68. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashādhyaī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise". (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus वृत्तः, वृत्तः ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or विवृत, when operations are performed with it: but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long आ and the pluta आ इ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only

the *short* अ consisting of *one* mātra, with *six* various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely अ, इ, ए, औ, ई, औ ॥ For these six short open अs, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See I. 1. 9.

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

10. 10. 98.

